

## PHD

### Interethnic relations between Italians and Moroccans: it takes two to tango

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**INTERETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN  
ITALIANS AND MOROCCANS:  
IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
University of Bath  
Department of European Studies and Modern Languages

September 2011

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*To my parents,  
for their endless love, support  
and encouragement.*

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## **Abstract**

Over the past decades, the pronounced increase of international migration has led many nations to confront themselves with the pressing issue of how to ameliorate and make more harmonious the engagement among people with different cultural backgrounds. The present thesis enters this debate focusing on the mutual relations between Italians and Moroccan immigrants living in Turin (North-West Italy). By means of this case study, this research demonstrates that the support and valorisation of cultural diversity do not damage social cohesion, as some scholars believe, but rather they may contribute to positive intergroup relations if they are well balanced by the adaptation of immigrants to the host country's culture and by the development of a sense of belonging with the new country.

In order to test my assumption I analyzed the impact of a preference for the integration strategy of acculturation (rather than assimilation or segregation) and the extent to which Moroccans and Italians share this preference. These analyses build on the distinction between acculturation in the public and in the private domain and between the concepts of culture and identity.

A total of 281 respondents, of whom 136 were Moroccans and 145 Italians, participated in a questionnaire study. Both groups clearly expressed their preference for the integration strategy in the public and in the private domain, and for a dual identity, where migrants identified with both their own ethnic group and with Italy. In addition, these findings revealed that both acculturation strategies and identity patterns were predictive of intergroup relations, with the latter having the strongest impact.

These findings were deepened through qualitative interviews, which aimed to explore whether for the specific context of this study the conditions were such that the dual identity could realistically develop. Results indicated that while culture diversity is encouraged and supported, Moroccans still experience a degree of discrimination. Such situation delineates a reality characterised by a ‘segmented pluralism’, that is, a reality where the recognition of cultural and ethnic differences coexist with the persistence of structural inequalities.

## **Abbreviations**

IAM	Interactive Acculturation Model
ITT	Integrated Threat Theory
MEIM	Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure
SIT	Social Identity Theory

# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Overview**

Poverty, injustice, and armed conflicts displace millions of people across the globe. For the most part these are refugees, victims of persecutions, and/or economic migrants who are compelled to move to provide for their families. The mobility of the world's population is additionally fostered by the ongoing globalization affecting the economy, the ease of communication, international trade, business, and tourism. Taken together, all these phenomena have led several countries, including Italy, towards the development of multicultural and multiethnic societies. Unfortunately, the nations' emerging multicultural realities have not been welcomed or embraced by everybody. Empirical studies conducted in several multicultural contexts indicate that, despite the expected differences across countries, especially in terms of income and social class, the public perception of immigrants tends to be increasingly negative in Europe (e.g. Canoy et al., 2006). Immigrants are often considered an inescapable burden; a question of both international and domestic security, and a scapegoat for all kinds of problems societies face (Simon and Lynch, 1999; Taylor and Lambert, 1996). The events of September 11<sup>th</sup> further contributed to increase interethnic tensions as indicated in a series of opinion polls conducted regularly at the European Union (Eurobarometer surveys). Even Italy, despite a very recent history of immigration, has seen the development of intolerant and racist attitudes toward immigrants (Kosic and Phalet, 2006). The dramatic increase in the number of illegal as well as legal immigrants has caused a strong reaction in

the receiving population that really challenged the image of Italians as '*brava gente*' (good folks), which derives from their great tradition of hospitality and humanities (Triandafyllidou, 1999).

Starting from these premises two points can be drawn. First, this situation seems to support the view of many scholars who claim that diversity and cultural heterogeneity in particular, is damaging the sense of community and social cohesion (Fish and Brooks, 2004; Goodhart, 2004). Second, even considering the above, today there is little chance to go back to those days when nations were built around a homogeneous society where most people shared very similar, if not identical cultures, values, language, ethnicity, and religion (Cantle, 2005). Human mobility as well as greater diversity is inevitable. The challenge for many western countries, then, is to make their multiethnic, multicultural, and multi-faith societies non-conflictual. Nowadays, many nations have been confronted with the issue of how to improve and make relationships among people with different cultural backgrounds more harmonious. The present thesis enters this debate focusing on the mutual relations between Italians and Moroccan immigrants living in Turin (North-West Italy). By means of this case study, this research aims to address the following research question: does the support and valorisation of cultural diversity lead to more positive intergroup relations or does it threaten social cohesion? This thesis is mostly concerned with whether ordinary Moroccans and Italians value and support cultural diversity. However, since the official policies towards immigrants and immigration influence individuals' attitudes toward immigrants, the policy context will also be taken into consideration.

The issue of whether immigrants' culture should be valorised and supported in order to encourage their sense of identity, or discouraged in the interest of social cohesion has recently come under the spotlight. This occurred especially after episodes such as the assassinations in the Netherlands of the popular rightwing politician Pim Fortuyn and of the controversial filmmaker Theo Van Gogh and the bombing attacks in Madrid and London, have led many scholars to conclude that multiculturalism had failed (Kymlicka, 2007). The multicultural approach has been criticised especially in those countries like the Netherlands, Canada, and Great Britain where immigrants' culture was sustained through the

development of formal multicultural policy and programs (Reitz et al., 2009). Specifically, this approach, which was initially put in place to deliver a genuinely inclusive society, has been subsequently criticised for having achieved the opposite outcome: it created divisions and encouraged exclusion rather than inclusion. Many supporters of multiculturalism started to abandon this approach, while assimilation became the watchword (Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2007). This research aims to demonstrate that diversity and cultural heterogeneity are not damaging social cohesion as some scholars believe, but rather they may contribute to positive intergroup relations if they are well balanced by the adaptation of immigrants to the host country's culture and by the development of a sense of belonging with the new country. The failure of multiculturalism, in fact, rather than being caused by the support of cultural diversity, was caused by the predominance of the respect for cultural differences over the need of creating a shared sense of nationhood among newcomers. Therefore, in this study I assume that intergroup relations will benefit if the support of cultural diversity is combined with immigrants' adaptation to the host country's culture and with the development of a sense of attachment with the receiving country.

I tested my assumption in two different ways: first, I analysed the impact of culture and identity changes that follow contacts between ethno-cultural groups on intergroup relations. More specifically, I tested with quantitative data whether among Italians and Moroccans the endorsement of the integration strategy of acculturation and the dual identity, which are both based on the combination of culture maintenance with participation in the wider society, are associated with positive intergroup relations. Second, I explored with qualitative data whether in my context of study conditions based on acceptance of diversity and respect of otherness exist and whether these conditions lead to more positive intergroup relations. This part of the study, which is more descriptive, has a practical relevance since it helps to understand the condition that can reduce hostility of one group toward the other one. It also contributes to analyse more deeply the complexity of data that comes out of the quantitative study.

Surprisingly, the aspect of immigrants' identification with the receiving society and its importance for their adaptation in the new context of life has been underestimated by Italian academic research. As will be explained in more detail



in the next paragraph, Italian scholars have more commonly addressed the issues of immigrants' participation in the job market (Natale and Strozza, 1997), their access to housing (Ponzo, 2009; Tosi, 1993; Mottura, 1995) and the education system (Censis, 2008), or second generation immigrants (Valtolina and Marazzi, 2006), the demographic structure, and social needs among immigrants (Caliguri, 2009). Thus, while immigrants' socio-economic integration has been largely investigated, the cultural and identity aspects of their process of integration are hitherto underexplored. The fact that the key episodes that have been blamed for the failure of multiculturalism in Europe were carried out by individuals who were born and/or brought up in the receiving country, should emphasize the importance of fostering a common sense of civic and national identity among immigrant communities. This assumes a particular relevance in the Italian context where the intolerance toward cultural and religious differences is increasing and where right-wing populist parties, such as the *Lega Nord*, that are notoriously anti-immigrants, are receiving high consensus among the native population.

## **1.2 The academic discourse about immigrant integration and ethnic relations**

### **1.2.1 The Overseas context**

The issue of how to deal with immigrants and their cultural diversity in receiving countries has been largely debated in the social sciences. Early theorisations can be traced back to the pioneering work of the Chicago school conducted in the period between the two World Wars, when America was experiencing an extraordinary social transformation produced by massive immigration flows (Park and Burgess, 1924). America has thus provided Europe with its whole model of immigrant integration, ethnic studies, and race relations, which is widely referred to as the 'assimilation model' (Gordon, 1964). According to this model, upon arrival migrants tended to collocate at the lowest levels of the social stratification. Yet, it was assumed that interactions on a daily basis with the host society would lead them to gradually abandon their cultural backgrounds and

identities and to adapt to the host society's values and habits. This linear process of cultural assimilation was considered a pre-condition for the social, economic, and spatial mobility of immigrants that in the long term would have led to a decline in residential segregation. In fact, according to Burgess' ecological model (Burgess, 1925), as assimilation proceeded and so did immigrant economic conditions, immigrants could move from the inner zones of the cities, characterised by areas of blight and a high concentration of immigrant ghettos, to successive zones of better environmental conditions. According to this perspective, assimilation entailed both the acquisition of cultural norms and values of the receiving society and economic inclusion (Gordon, 1964). Consequently, the incorporation of immigrants in the receiving society was seen as a responsibility of the migrants themselves (the quicker they assimilated to the host society, the more they improved their economic position and social condition) rather than been viewed as an obligation of the receiving society, whose role was instead minimised. Hence, ethnic studies in the American context focused mainly on the assimilation of the various immigrant communities (e.g. Beale-Spencer and Harpalani, 2001; Gans, 1979; Chavez, 1994; Goldring, 1996; Hernandez and Torres-Saillant, 1996) and on the issue of whether assimilation into the American life would lead to progressive social mobility, and thus, to straight line assimilation (Farley and Alba, 2002; Gans, 1992; Warner and Srole, 1945).

Supporters of the assimilation model, however, disregarded the fact that the contacts with the immigrant population could lead to changes also in the receiving population and would have not only affected the immigrants (Hirschman, 1983). Additionally, the 'resurgence' of ethnicities and the persistence of racial inequalities and conflicts in the late 1960s and 1970s opened the way to new conceptualisations, which took into consideration a broad range of alternative outcomes, such as, integration, assimilation, segregation, and isolation (Berry, 1984). Berry presented these diverse strategies as four modes of adaptation, each representing a different result of culture retention versus adoption of the receiving society's cultural values (Berry, 1997). Further elaborations of this model, which were based on the consideration of the relevant role played by the receiving population in the process of immigrants' adaptation,

led to the development of the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997). This model predicted different interethnic relational outcomes depending on the combination between immigrant and host national acculturation strategies<sup>1</sup>. This new rise given to immigrants' cultural backgrounds started to be taken into consideration not only by academics, whose research started to investigate the various acculturation strategies adopted by different communities as well as their effect on the psychological wellbeing of immigrants; it was also considered by policy makers, who increasingly evaluated the application of multicultural policy and programs, especially in Canada (Berry and Kalin, 1995).

### **1.2.2 The European context**

In the European context, the issue of ethnic relations and how to deal with immigrants' cultural diversities was conceptualised by following different theoretical approaches. On one hand the European literature about migration and ethnic relations was characterised by British studies focusing mainly on immigrant integration in the education system and the labour market, and immigrant discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, ethnic or national origins (Brown, 1984; Daniel, 1968; Modood et al., 1997; Smith, 1976). The attention of the scholars and of many public authorities toward the integration of ethnic minorities was motivated by the fact that the presence of immigrants in the UK was not envisaged as limited to a short time. Immigrants in the UK were not guest workers, as it happened in most Northern European countries, but rather citizens from either current or former colonies, who could enter and stay in the UK without any restriction. Therefore, monitoring the educational and labour market performance of ethnic minorities and promoting racial equalities have been and continue to be a prominent concern among scholars in Britain.

On the other hand, European researchers were engaged in such studies, often focusing on one particular flow of migrants or on the specific nature of the immigration, such as the 'guest-worker' type of temporary migration (Bastienier and Dassetto 1990; Böning 1984). Therefore, until the 1980s social inclusion was addressed mainly with respect to immigrants' participation in economic

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<sup>1</sup> Details about the evolution of acculturation research models are presented in the next chapter.

production. Within this perspective, the acceptance and legitimization of immigrants' culture by receiving countries was aimed to equip immigrants to return to their own countries and to discourage them from staying (Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2007). Such an approach became unrealistic after the oil crisis in 1973-74 when immigrants turned their migratory project into a permanent stay and started to bring their families to the receiving country. With the increasing number of family reunifications and of second generations the challenge of integration became apparent for the first time: the receiving countries were called to accommodate a series of immigrants' needs, such as, their access to the housing, the health care, and education systems. In addition, the receiving countries had to deal with immigrants' cultural backgrounds and with their desire to hand down their cultural traditions to their children.

Following this important social change in the immigration countries, European research on immigrants' incorporation in the receiving societies started to address the issue of how institutions in different countries were and/or should have been dealing with the process of immigrant integration and acculturation and with those factors that hinder their incorporation in the receiving society (Caponio, 2010). Thus, a macro rather than an individual approach was more commonly taken. Another line of research, mainly grounded in the discipline of cross-cultural psychology, focused on immigrants' cultural diversity and, more specifically, on their attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation. Most of these studies validated Berry's four-fold acculturation model in that it was found that among immigrant groups the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation varied independently (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Research also supported the domain specificity model, based on which immigrant acculturation strategies differ across life domains. In particular a distinction was found between the public and the private domains (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2004). Despite the fact that definition and evidence indicated that acculturation was a two-way process of change, research mainly focused on adjustments experienced by the migrant groups in response to their contact with the receiving population. Nevertheless, the socio-political interest in observing the effects of immigration on the receiving population has increasingly led researchers to investigate the attitudes of the receiving population toward

immigrant acculturation. As a consequence, first applications of the Interactive Acculturation Model were initiated (Zagefka and Brown, 2002). This research however, failed to consider the domain specificity of the acculturation process, meaning that, for example, no distinction between the public and the private domain was considered. Other studies have explored the effect of each of the four-acculturation attitudes on immigrants' psychological wellbeing, whereas their effect on interethnic relations was less explored. Although these studies were quite advanced, the discipline of psychology remained under-exploited within European migration studies, especially in countries such as Italy, as it will be shown in more detail in the next section.

### **1.2.3 The Italian context**

In the Italian context, research focusing on immigrant integration and ethnic relations was mainly taken by political scientists and sociologists and started to noticeably emerge in the Italian scholarly debate on migration in the 1990s. Until then, research about migration were conducted mainly by demographers with the specific aim to provide quantitative data about immigrants' numbers, demographic characteristics of immigrants, countries of origins, and geographic areas of settlement (e.g. Censis, 1979; De Candia, 1983; Istat, 1991). In order to delineate the main traits of the emerging phenomenon, local surveys were carried out by experts in various disciplines in the different regions of Italy, such as Piedmont, Lombardy, and Campania, reflecting a clear preference for quantitative methods (Calvanese and Pugliese, 1991; Cocchi, 1990; Reginato, 1990). In addition to these studies, the first anthropological research about single immigrant communities was conducted in the context of university research projects with the intent of investigating how the different immigrant communities were adapting to the Italian receiving society (see for example Cerutti, 1988). In summary, early studies in the Italian literature on immigration presented two main features: (1) a quantitative approach inclusive of a descriptive framework essentially aimed to provide basic data and information on the main characteristics of immigrants and immigration; (2) an explanatory framework based on the assumption that Italy was an "atypical" immigration

country (Caponio, 2008). The latter interpretation was motivated by the fact that immigration in Italy did not start during a time of economic expansion, but during a time of the profound economic crisis in the post-war era (1973-1982) characterised by high rates of unemployment, a considerable growth of the public deficit, and an expansion of the so-called shadow economy (Macioti and Pugliese, 1998). The implementation of restrictive immigration policies in traditional immigration countries after the oil crisis in 1973 diverted migration flows from economically and socially more attractive North Europe to Southern European countries. As a matter of fact, immigration in Italy was suffered rather than planned. Such a context has led many scholars to conclude that ‘push factors’ in the sending countries prevailed over ‘pull factors’ within Italy (Bonifazi, 1998). However, relevant pull factors were also considered: (a) lack of entry control regulations, which, on the contrary, were implemented in traditional immigration countries; (b) the geographical position of Italy in the centre of the Mediterranean; (c) the increasing demand for unqualified, low-paid and low-status jobs refused by the local population; (d) the low birth-rate and the consequent aging of the Italian population (King, 1993).

The thesis of Italy as an ‘anomalous case’ (Melotti, 1990) was abandoned in the late 1990s when hypotheses and theoretical approaches for studying immigration debated in the international literature started to be taken into consideration (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000). In particular, more emphasis was put on the role of migration chains. The relevance of networks between sending and destination countries was particularly evident for the emerging of trends based on the connection between certain immigrant groups and specific areas of the country (Mottura, 1992). The links between Tunisians and Sicily, Yugoslavians and Friuli Venezia Giulia, Ethiopians, and Eritreans in the cities of Rome and Milan sustain this interpretation. The network approach could also explain the emerging of migration flows of women from developing countries such as Cape Verde and Philippines, who were largely employed in the domestic sector and who benefitted from the connections with Italian Catholic Associations (Andall, 2000; Andall and Sarti, 2004).

With the consolidation of the immigrant presence in Italy and the acknowledgement that immigration was a structural phenomenon, a new stream

of research started to emerge with specific focus on patterns of settlement and immigrant integration. As stated at the beginning of the section, contributions came mainly from political scientists and sociologists. The former were mainly involved in the scientific debate concerning the policy making process and the possibilities of implementing existing immigrant and immigration policies (Farfan, 2001; Golini, 1989; Marinotti, 1985; Zincone 2006). The attention of the scholars has been addressed directly mainly at local and regional differences in the services and assistance delivered to immigrants. As pointed out by initial studies, such differences were not the result of diverse strategies adopted by the various regional governments to respond to immigrants' needs in a more efficient way. They rather reflected the varying levels of administration efficiencies, political mobilization over the issue and availability of resources (Caponio, 2005; 2006). In particular, a 'dramatic gap' between Northern and Southern cities has been identified: while the former had developed throughout the 1990s specific programs to target the needs of the various immigrant communities, the latter lacked first assistance and information services (Lostia and Tomaino, 1994).

Among sociologists the scientific debate about immigrants' integration was mainly focused on immigrants' socio-economic integration. Many studies attempted to identify adequate sets of indicators that generally included measures of immigrants' access to the labour market, the housing, health care and education systems (Golini, 2005; Zincone 2000, 2001). Such indicators clearly reflected the idea that immigrants could be considered integrated into the Italian society if they acquired positions similar to those of the receiving population in access to the labour market, housing, health care, education system etc. (Caponio, 2010). Research indicated not only a disadvantaged condition of immigrants in the housing market (Fieri, 2008; Tosi, 1993, 1998), but also a subordinated position in the labour market with respect to the native population (Allasino et al., 2004; Quassoli, 1999; Reyneri, 2004). These studies, supported also by findings of economists who investigated the competitive or complementary character of immigrant labour with respect to national labour (Pugliese, 1993; Venturini, 1999), confirmed that immigrants were no longer viewed as job competitors. On the contrary, there was an increasing tendency to

see immigrants through the concepts of deviance and emergency (Magnani, 2007). According to Barbagli, a sociologist who has largely been involved in the debate about the binomial immigration-criminality, the host community's hostile reactions could be explained by an increasing sense of fear and insecurity about the rise in the crime rate. The relationship between immigration and crime became another key issue of Italian research on migration, concentrating around two main perspectives. According to the first perspective, although the lack of security perceived by Italians was already present prior to the arrival of immigrants, the migration experience was seen as a factor that gave a substantial contribution to the aetiology of some criminal or deviant behaviours (Barbagli, 1998). The second perspective was instead based on the 'immigrant-irregular-marginal-criminal' construction (Quassoli, 2001). In other words, the condition of undocumented migrants and the insertion in the informal economy was seen as contributing in a crucial way to the perception of 'immigrant criminality'.

The increasing intolerance on the part of the native population then stimulated many scholars to investigate the attitudes of Italians toward immigrants and vice versa (Bonifazi 1992; Bonifazi and Cerbara, 1999; IRES, 1991; 1992; Kosic et al., 2005). These studies acquired particular relevance in the Italian scholarly debate about migration since for a long time the "myth of Italians as good people" and Italians' past experience as emigrants was viewed as preventing Italians from expressing racism and prejudice (Delle Donne, 1998). Research on immigrant-host citizens' relations in Italy was often approached with quantitative methodologies and has generally focused either on the migrant groups or on the native population. However, they have rarely taken a comparative perspective, which is of utmost relevance for studies on intergroup relations and likely to provide a more conclusive outcome. Moreover, explanations for the emergence of intolerant attitudes were often framed within sociological paradigms, whereas psychological interpretations were often omitted. According to Cotesta, for example, interethnic conflict could be attributed to the so-called "subordinated inclusion" strategy adopted by the native population. Based on the combination between principles of "moral indifference" and "pragmatic opportunism", this strategy considered immigrants an exploitable resource to be included in the productive system but to be



excluded from cultural and political inclusion (Cotesta, 1999). A psychological approach concerning prejudice in Italy was taken by Sniderman et al. (2000). These authors developed a model, namely “the two flavoured model”, that combined two classic theories of prejudice. The first one (the authoritarian personality) located the sources of prejudice inside individuals (Adorno et al., 1950). The second one explained prejudice with the competition for resources and located the source of prejudice not in the interior needs of individuals but in the objective conditions of social life (Sniderman et al., 2000). From these theories the authors derived two indexes, which were used as predictors to explain prejudice in Italy: the index of personal attributes and index of blame. The factors that accounted for Italian prejudice considered in the index included individuals’ characteristics and different types of threat (security threat, threat to their wellbeing, etc.), but did not consider the threat to Italian identity, which is a relevant factor to explain Italians’ negative feelings toward immigrants. The presence of individuals with different cultural background may represent a threat for the Italian exclusiveness and trigger negative attitudes toward outgroup members. However, Sniderman and colleagues (2000) have not considered this type of threat in their index of prejudice.

At the end of the 1990s the relationship between the Italian population and immigrant groups were affected by another important change, that is, the rise of the Muslim population and the concern with the “Islamic invasion” associated with it (Barbagli et al., 2002). Researchers increasingly addressed the issue of Islam and the expected incompatibility between Muslim groups and those values and behaviours of Western societies (Allievi, 1996; Cardini, 1994). More recently, the interest of researchers has moved toward the issue of second generation Muslims. Specifically, attention has been focused on the second-generation Muslims’ associations, gender and intergenerational conflicts, the role of Islam in Italy, and identity formation (e.g. Frisina, 2007). Studies about second generations in the different ethnic communities have yet to be systematically pursued in Italy. So far, research has dealt with pupils’ school attainment and, to a lesser extent, the process of identity formation and the matter of whether diversity is perceived as a limit or an opportunity (D’Ignazi, 2008; Queirolo Palmas, 2006; Valtolina and Marazzi, 2006). Far less attention

has been devoted to the process of inclusion/exclusion from the labour market and to postgraduate education, key elements for the social and economic mobility (Caponio, 2008).

In conclusion, the Italian literature on migration has undoubtedly grown in the past two decades both in terms of research themes and theoretical approaches as well as methodological perspectives. However, there are still a number of research gaps that expressly need to be filled for further advancement of migration studies in the country. First of all, as noted by Caponio (2010), despite the increasing number of publications of Italian migration studies in English and the inclusion in comparative studies of chapters on the case of Italy, there is still a 'great deal' (Caponio, 2010) of research that is published in Italian language and that definitely does not contribute to strengthening the international profile of Italian migration studies. Secondly, the issue of migration has been unevenly explored by disciplines: while there is a conspicuous number of sociological, anthropological, and political studies, there are other disciplines, such as, psychology, in which migration remained an under-researched area. A relevant contribution to this discipline and particularly to acculturation research comes from Kotic, a Croatian researcher. She applied Berry's acculturation model to explore the acculturation strategies preferred by immigrants and the impact of these strategies on immigrants' psychological and sociological adaptation (Kotic, 2002; 2004; Kotic et al., 2006). Her studies, however, mainly addressed the investigation of acculturation attitudes of less represented immigrant communities in Italy, such as Poles and Croatians. Less attention was paid to numerically bigger ethnic groups like Romanians, or to immigrant communities that are more culturally distinct from Italians, like Moroccans or Chinese. In another study Kotic et al. (2005) explored the attitudes of Italians toward immigrants' acculturation strategies and the relationship between these attitudes and the level of prejudice toward immigrants. Italians' attitudes, however, were not compared to immigrants' actual acculturation strategies. Although these studies represent the first significant contribution to Italian acculturation research, they left many issues unexplored. Notably, none of these studies took into consideration the fact that immigrants' preference for adaptation and culture maintenance can vary across life domains and situations (domain-specificity

model). Moreover, the effect of acculturation strategies was analysed only in relation to intrapersonal variables (socio psychological adaptation) but not in relation to interpersonal variables (e.g. intergroup relations). Finally, the Interactive acculturation Model has not yet been applied to the Italian context.

Finally, while socio-economic aspects of immigrant integration has been largely explored, less attention has been paid to immigrants' integration in terms of loyalty and identification with the host country. A significant contribution comes from Recchi and Allam's research carried out in 2002. However, this study rather than showing the importance of cultural aspects for the achievement of immigrants' full integration in the receiving society was more concerned with elucidating whether immigrants' religious credo (specifically Islam) may be an obstacle for their adaptation in a new country of settlement. The present research widens the Italian discourse about migration by addressing these limits.

### **1.3 Scientific innovations**

This research centres on the mutual relationship between Italians and Moroccan immigrants living in Turin, Italy. The theoretical approach that is applied to address the research question comes from psychology, a discipline that so far has not contributed consistently to the study of migration and ethnic relations, particularly in the Italian academic research context. Yet, within this discipline important theories have been developed that offered a valuable and important contribution to the understanding of interethnic relations. Two theoretical approaches in psychology explicitly address this issue. The first one is grounded in cross-cultural psychology and is linked to acculturation theories, whereas the second one refers to social psychology theories of intergroup relations and is concerned with elucidating how individuals perceive, evaluate, and behave with one another, both within the same group and across ethnic group boundaries (Berry, 2003). This general framework to study interethnic relations that combines acculturation models and social-psychology theories can be applied to both immigrant communities and the receiving population<sup>2</sup>. Although existing studies that applied these theories are quite advanced, there are important issues

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<sup>2</sup> Information about these theories and their application are provided in the next chapter.

that have been omitted and that would undoubtedly deserve further investigation. By addressing these aspects that have not been explored in previous research, this study moves forward the academic debate on intergroup relations both theoretically and methodologically. Theoretically, by investigating the effects of cultural changes on intergroup relations, introducing a distinction between the public and the private domains and between culture heritage and cultural identity. There is evidence of differential acculturation preferences for the public and the private domain, especially on the immigrants' side (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver, 2004). Yet, little attention has been given to the principle of domain specificity of the acculturation model either in Italian acculturation studies or in previous applications of the Interactive Acculturation Model. Moreover, by distinguishing between culture heritage and cultural identity - constructs that are often used erroneously as synonymous - we gain further insight into how and if these two concepts have a different impact on intergroup relations.

Methodologically, it does this by refining existing knowledge through the use of a mixed-method approach that combined quantitative data with in-depth qualitative data. This allows the identification of the type of acculturation strategy preferred by the subjects interviewed and its relevance for predicting intergroup relations, as well as to offer an additional perspective focusing on intergroup attitudes and the factors that shape these attitudes, information that is usually not captured in survey data only. Taken together information gathered from both quantitative and qualitative data allows one to gain a more complete understanding about whether the acceptance and support of cultural diversity combined with the development of a sense of nationhood among immigrants can have a positive impact on intergroup relations.

Finally, by applying social psychology theories on intergroup relations to an Italian case, this study also contributes to move forward the Italian scholarly debate about migration, which is still limited in the field of psychology and particularly with respect to acculturation research. Existing Italian studies on acculturation have neither considered the domain specificity principle, nor have they compared the acculturation views of the immigrant group with that of the native population. This comparative approach is quite frequent in the foreign

literature about ethnic relations but less common among Italian studies that have generally focused either on the immigrant group or on the native population.

The research objectives are described in more detail below.

#### **1.4 Research objective**

Based on Berry's acculturation model this research firstly investigates with quantitative data the acculturation orientations of Moroccans and Italians distinguishing between public and private domains and between cultural and identity patterns. Secondly, these acculturation orientations are analysed in relation to specific variables (i.e., perceived quality of intergroup relations, tolerance and attitudes toward the out-group) that are a measure of interethnic relations. More specifically, this thesis explores whether the integration strategy of acculturation is associated with better interethnic relations, again distinguishing between the public and the private domains and between culture and identity. Such distinctions aim to identify whether culture changes in the various domains of life have a stronger impact on interethnic relations than identity patterns or vice versa. Finally, the interplay between immigrants and host nationals' acculturation orientations is analysed for its impact on interethnic relations. For this last purpose I refer to the Interactive Acculturation Model presented in Bourhis et al. (1997). More specifically, I test whether discrepancies between Italians and Moroccans over their acculturation orientations have an impact on intergroup relations.

My main hypothesis concerning the positive effect of the support of culture difference and inclusive participation on intergroup relations was further explored with qualitative data. In this descriptive section of the study I have investigated with in-depth interviews additional aspects of the relationship between the migrant group and the host population. More specifically, I explored the response of the receiving society toward immigration and the extent to which cultural diversity is accepted. Findings of this part of the study have been interpreted referring to theories of intergroup relations that emphasise the role of threat as fundamental factors for shaping host community's negative relations toward immigrant groups. Furthermore, I explored whether members of the

immigrant group feel accepted by and attached to the receiving community or if they feel discriminated against, denied equal opportunities and unwelcome.

## 1.5 Data

This study is based on primary data from a survey and qualitative interviews. The total sample size for the quantitative study is 281 respondents, 136 Moroccan and 145 Italian adults, more or less equally divided between men and women. These respondents were selected in a non-random manner, with the method of convenience sampling. The use of a non-probabilistic sample does not allow generalising results to the entire population, that, therefore, have to be limited to this restricted population. Qualitative data derives from in-depth interviews with ten Moroccans and ten Italians who already participated in the survey study. Quantitative and qualitative data should be seen as complementing each other in the sense that they allow to achieve a more comprehensive insight into different aspects of interethnic relations<sup>3</sup>.

## 1.6 The case study

Italy - specifically the city of Turin - is the setting for this study. Officially, immigration in Italy started in the mid 1970s when the so-called 'oil price shock' of the 1973-1974 led most of the traditional countries of immigration to apply stern immigration policies and, therefore, to 'close' their borders. It was at that time that Italy, a country with a long history of emigration, turned into a host country, increasingly receiving immigrants from developing countries and Eastern Europe. The sudden and unexpected change from an emigration into an immigration country created social, economic as well as legal issues that the country was not ready to face (Triandafyllidou, 1999). According to the Italian Institute of Statistics, Italy now hosts 3,433,000 foreigners (Istat, 2007) out of a total population of 59,619,290 individuals, approximately 6.7% of the Italian population. Of this number 52% come from European countries, mainly

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<sup>3</sup> More detailed information about the research methodology applied, the data collection and the characteristics of the sample are presented in chapter 3.

Romania and Albania, 23% from Africa, 16% from Asia and 9% from America. In particular, the most represented nationalities are Romania, Albania, Morocco, China, Ukraine, and Philippines (table 1.1).

Due to the chronic lack of clear immigration and settlement policies and the inefficiency of the public administrations, public opinion, which was initially tolerant, with the dramatic increase of immigrants became more hostile (Kosic et al., 2005). This increasing intolerance is best exemplified by the murder in Villa Litterno in 1989 of Jerry Essam Maslo, a political refugee from South Africa, who came to Italy to work in the tomato harvest. More recently, several cases of intolerance and xenophobia have covered the front-page of Italian newspapers, again putting this issue under the spotlight<sup>4</sup>. Generally, public opinion tends to view the arrival of many immigrants as threatening and dangerous for the country with negative consequences for citizens' safety (Sniderman et al., 2000). Such a situation seemed to be particularly appropriate for the study of the relationship between immigrants and host nationals.

**Table 1.1** – Foreign residents by nationality, 31<sup>st</sup> December 2007.

Country	<i>Istat</i>	
	<i>a.v</i>	%
Romania	625,278	18.2
Albania	401,949	11.7
Morocco	365,908	10.7
China	156,519	4.6
Ukraine	132,718	3.9
Philippines	105,675	3.1
Other	1,644.604	47.8
Total	3,432.651	100.0

Source: ISTAT 2007.

My data was specifically gathered in Turin, one of the major Italian cities located in the North-West side of the country, where there is a high concentration of immigrants, especially of Moroccan origin. Turin is one of the points of the so-called industrial triangle together with Milan and Genoa, and the capital of the

<sup>4</sup> For references: Repubblica, April 7<sup>th</sup> “Milano, pestaggio razzista”, 2008; Repubblica, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2008 “Milano, giovane di colore ucciso a sprangate”;

automobile industry. The presence of a colossal such as FIAT has influenced the entire economy of the city, and attracted many immigrants from Southern Italy during the 1950s/1960s in search of job opportunities in the more industrialized North. The massive immigration from south Italy following the economic expansion was definitely not the only experience the city had with the phenomenon of migration, since starting from the 1980s the city has increasingly accepted immigrants from non EU-countries and Western Europe. With the presence of 164,592 (7.23% of the city population) of various nationalities, Turin is now a meaningful example of a multicultural city (Istat, 2008). Romanians (73,557), Moroccans (23,895), Albanians (9,713), Peruvians (7,519) and Chinese (5,829) are the largest groups (BDDE Piedmont, 2008), with nationals from 142 different countries living in Turin (Istat, 2008).

Neighbourhoods such as San Salvario and Porta Palazzo became, more than others in the city, the principle areas of immigrants' settlement, mainly due to the availability of cheap housing (Rubbo, 2009). The concentration of immigrants in these two areas of the city increased their visibility and in some cases triggered violent reactions against them, since they are blamed for being responsible for the rise in the crime rate (Allasino et al., 2000). Protests from Italian residents began to emerge in the 1990s and were linked to the supposed 'invasion' of the city by people who were associated with danger, crime and urban deterioration (Maritano, 2002). In those years Italian residents organised several neighbourhood committees to fight the perceived increase in criminals associated with the arrival of immigrants. In response, migrants organized a counter-protest in support of their rights to the city (Merrill and Carter, 2002). To address the rising tension and discord, trade unions, immigrant associations and a wide number of Catholic and voluntary organizations participated in a massive antiracist march that is considered the concluding episode of this particular crisis over immigration (Merrill, 2006). Many diverse urban renewal programs were launched afterwards in combination with integration projects all aimed at the improvement of the quality of life conditions (Rubbo, 2009). In particular, the local policies focused on three different guidelines: 1) security issue; 2) urban renewal; 3) intensification of social services (Ires, 2007). In spite of this, San Salvario and Porta Palazzo are still the areas where there is the heaviest



concentration of non-EU immigrants and where periods of peaceful co-existence alternate with flare-ups of conflicts (Lo Piccolo and Thomas, 2003).

In my analysis of interethnic relations I focused on the Moroccan group. Although since 2002 Moroccans do not represent any longer the largest immigrant group, they have always been considered the prototype immigrant in Italy (Kosic et al., 2005). Moreover, since the spread of Islam in Italy has been accompanied by increasing prejudice against Muslims, there is an express need to provide an in depth understanding of Muslim groups. Moroccans who belong to the Muslim religion represented a valid case study based on this rationale. My decision to focus on Moroccans was ultimately influenced by the consideration that the number of family reunifications is increasing among Moroccans in comparison to other Muslim groups living in Italy (Caritas, 2008). Accordingly, the demands advanced by the former group to the receiving society in terms of needs to be accommodated are different. For example, for Moroccans who are already settled in Italy the issue of the maintenance of their culture and religion and their transmission to their children can be more pressing than for other migrant groups that arrived in Italy as single migrants and who intend to return to their own countries. Therefore, the problems they caused to the receiving country are different and above all imply more changes on the part of the host population than those of other immigrant communities who are in Italy just for working, oriented toward the ultimate return to their own country.

## **1.7 Chapter outline**

The study consists of 7 chapters that deal with different aspects of interethnic relations. In chapter 2 relevant theories and previous research are reviewed. I describe the evolution of acculturation theory, models and research, from early conceptualisations elaborated by the Chicago School to more advanced models of acculturation. Next, I describe the development in the application of social psychology theories to the study of immigration and intergroup relations and I illustrate how these two approaches were combined across various studies. Finally, I present the model I want to test and the relative hypotheses.

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology. Detailed information about the case study, data collection, the characteristics of the sample and measurement of concepts is provided.

In chapter 4 the acculturation orientations of Moroccans and Italians in the public and in the private domains are examined. In addition, the impact of acculturation orientations on intergroup relations is analyzed. Finally, I look at the interplay between Moroccans and Italians' acculturation orientations and its effect on intergroup relations.

Chapter 5 tackles another aspect of acculturation, that is, identity. I look at the degree of Moroccans' identification with Italians and with their ethnic group. Italians' expectations about Moroccans' identity are analyzed as well. By intersecting the dimensions of ethnic and national identity I derive four identity patterns that are then analysed in relation to the measures of interethnic relations. Finally, I compare the effect of identity patterns on intergroup relation with that of acculturation in the public and in the private domains. Such comparison enables understanding about whether cultural aspects or identity aspects have a stronger effect on interethnic relations.

In Chapter 6 I deepen some aspects of the acculturation process and the relationship between Italians and Moroccans. Moreover, I qualitatively investigate those factors that shape the attitudes of Italians toward Moroccans and vice versa.

Chapter 7 presents the discussion, draws the conclusions, and, last but not least, indicates the directions for future research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature review**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Research and theories in the global literature on intergroup relations derive from quite separate and distinct traditions in cross-cultural and social psychology. The first arises from anthropology and is situated in cross-cultural theories linked to acculturation strategies (Liebkind, 2000; Ward, 1996). The second originates from sociology and became a central issue of social psychology, focusing on studies of inter-group perception and relations (Brewer and Brown, 1998). In this chapter a critical review of the evolution of the acculturation theories, models and research will be presented (paragraphs 2.2.1, 2.2.2). It will be followed by a description of the developments in the application of social psychology theories (paragraphs 2.3.1- 2.3.5) to the study of immigration and intergroup relations and by an illustration about how these two approaches were combined across several studies (paragraph 2.4). This introductory review serves to highlight gaps and limits in the existing literature on acculturation and intergroup relations, which will be addressed in the present thesis.

#### **2.2 Acculturation theories**

The acculturation term started to be used by American social anthropologists towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Navas et al., 2005). One of the earliest definitions of acculturation described the concept as ‘those phenomena that result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first

hand-contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups' (Redfield et al., 1936, p.149). Several theoretical models have been proposed over the years to assess the process of acculturation, which can be categorized as unidimensional and bidimensional models. The primary difference between the two approaches resides in the way the relationship between original culture or *heritage culture* and the culture of the new society or *mainstream culture* is conceived. In the following section a number of these models are reviewed.

### **2.2.1 Unidimensional model**

Since Park and Miller (1921) the unidimensional model of acculturation has been the standard view of acculturation. The unidimensional approach was based on the assumption that cultural changes take place along a continuum line, going from the heritage culture to the mainstream culture. More specifically, individuals were seen as relinquishing the values, attitudes and behaviours of their culture of origin and simultaneously adopting those of the new society (e.g. Ramirez, 1984). In line with this idea, Warner and Srole (1945) introduced the notion of the 'straight line assimilation'. They argued that the successful incorporation of immigrants into the American society was automatically associated with the loss of ethnic, social and cultural attachments. The two authors also postulated that immigrant social outcome would improve over time, eventually reaching parity with better native outcomes. A few years later Gordon (1964) adopted a similar perspective. He assumed that the adaptation to the culture of the majority was necessarily accompanied by 'the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values' (Gordon, 1964, p. 81). He identified seven basic sub-processes that take place in the process of assimilation. 1) Cultural or behavioural assimilation, which refers to the change of cultural patterns to those of the host society; 2) structural assimilation, that is, the entrance of the migrant groups into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society; 3) marital assimilation, when there is a large scale of intermarriage; 4) identificational assimilation when members of minority groups develop a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host

society; 5) attitude receptional assimilation, when minority groups have reached a point where they encounter no prejudiced attitudes; 6) behaviour receptional assimilation, characterized by the absence of discrimination; 7) civic assimilation a stage where the absence of value and power conflict is reached. Each of these steps or sub-processes may be thought of as constituting a particular aspect of the assimilation process (Gordon, 1964, p.70). The midpoint of this one-way change is biculturalism in which immigrants retain some aspects of their original culture and adopt key elements of the host culture. However, biculturalism is a transitory phase, since the final outcome of this process of change is invariably adaptation to the mainstream culture.

The unidimensional model implies a view of a society as unitary and homogeneous, or at least moving towards that state. Moreover, since the relations between host majority and immigrant group usually favour the host dominant community, the model implicitly attributes less status and institutional control to immigrants (Bourhis et al., 1997). Thus, it is more likely to see immigrants assimilating to the new culture than expecting the host community to adopt traits of the immigrant culture. Yet, this is not what happened during the European domination of colonial and indigenous people, when local cultures were eroded rather than being assimilated by newcomers. Critics of the unidimensional model of acculturation became more consistent at the end of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s when many scholars and social observers claimed that ethnicity remained an important source of social consciousness. Among these, Glazer and Moynihan, discussing the position of several immigrant groups in the United States, observed that although all these ethnicities had become American in many respects, they had not melted together into the mainstream society, as it was expected (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). Such considerations led them to conclude that ethnicities not only survived but also became more salient than before. The unidimensional approach in the study of immigrant acculturation has also been criticised for not having considered the fact that immigrants prefer other options than pursuing complete adjustment, for example, by retaining the original culture and at the same time adjusting to the society of settlement (Van de Vijver and Phalet, 2004). Moreover, the unidimensional approach failed to account for the fact that the host population as well changes by the presence of

culturally distinctive immigrants (Taft, 1953). To address these difficulties new models of acculturation have emerged and will be discussed in the next paragraph.

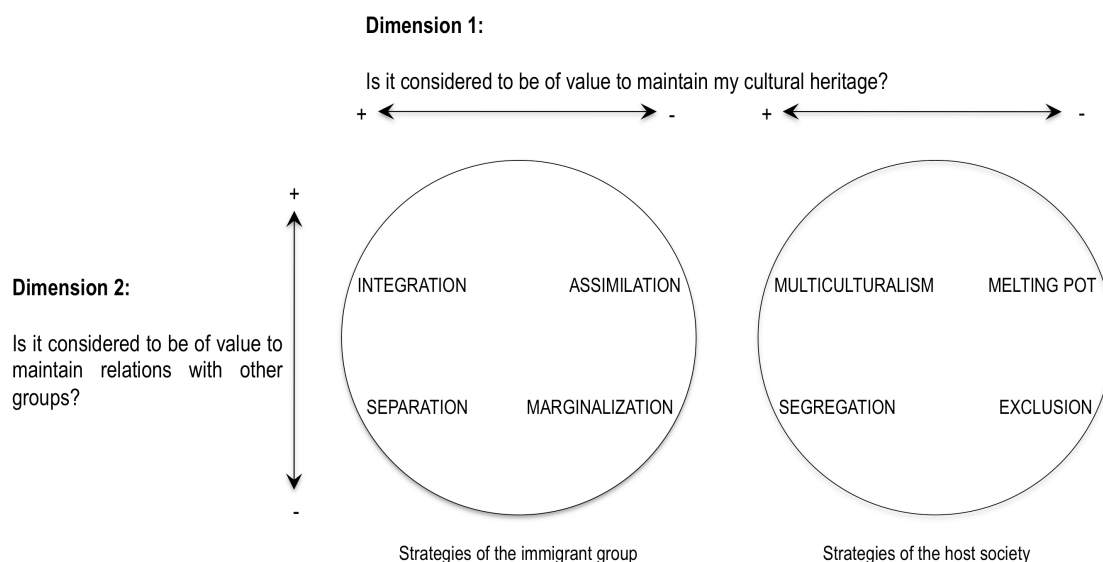
### 2.2.2 Bidimensional model

Criticism of the unidimensional model has led to the development of more comprehensive models of acculturation, in which immigrants' preference for both their heritage culture and the culture of the host society were assessed separately. Various bidimensional models have been developed, all using orthogonal dimensions: increasing adaptation did not require decreasing cultural maintenance (Sanchez and Fernandez, 1993; Szapocznik et al., 1980; Zak, 1973). Among these, the most popular bidimensional model of immigrant acculturation is the one proposed by Berry (1974, 1980). Using the two-dimensional model, Berry has suggested that there are four possible outcomes of the acculturation process, namely integration, segregation, assimilation and marginalization. Conceptually, these four acculturation strategies are the result of the interaction between two fundamental questions immigrants are faced with. The first one refers to the maintenance of the heritage culture (*is it considered to be of value to maintain my cultural heritage?*), while the second one has to do with the desirability of seeking contacts and participation with other cultural groups (*is it considered to be of value to maintain relations with other groups?*). By answering yes or no to these two questions the four-acculturation strategies can be derived (left side of figure 2.1).

The *integration* strategy reflects the desire to maintain the heritage culture while also adopting key features of the mainstream culture. *Assimilation* occurs when individuals relinquish their original culture and seek daily interaction with the dominant culture. When people have interest to maintain the key features of their own culture and at the same time wish to avoid interacting with others, they use the *separation* strategy. Finally, when there is little interest or possibility in cultural maintenance and rejection for the host majority culture *marginalization* is defined. Although marginalization can be a strategy that people choose once

settled in a new society, it can also be the result of a failed attempt to become part of the larger society.

**Figure 2.1** – The Berry (2003) bidimensional model of acculturation strategies



Immigrant groups and their members arrive in a new country with differing attitudes about retaining their heritage culture and having contacts with the host society. In the new society, these attitudes interact with the actual or perceived level of acceptance by members of the dominant group, who enforce certain types of acculturation. This is most clearly so in the case of integration, a strategy that can be successfully pursued only when pluralism is accepted and encouraged, when there are positive attitudes among ethno-cultural groups and when there are low levels of prejudice and discrimination (Berry, 2003). Indeed, in the original formulation given by Redfield et al. (1936), the term acculturation established that both groups in contacts would be involved in the process of acculturation. The recognition of the powerful role of the dominant society and the subsequent introduction of a second dimension, *acculturation expectations*, produced a duplicate framework (Berry, 2003). In this model (right side of figure 2.1), when diversity is accepted and supported the process of integration is termed *multiculturalism*; when assimilation is expected the process is called *melting pot*; when separation is forced by the host society, *segregation* is the

result, and finally when marginalization is imposed the process is called *ethnocide*.

In many multicultural societies the present discourse is whether immigrants should integrate or assimilate to the mainstream culture. Many researchers who applied Berry's acculturation model have found that integration is the most preferred strategy (e.g. Berry et al., 1989; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka and Brown, 2002), and marginalization the least chosen. However, although immigrants might prefer to integrate, immigration and integration policies of the new country of settlement ultimately influence the outcome of acculturation. Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) for example, have shown that immigrants' acculturation attitudes and behaviours in Québec differ from the ones in Anglo-Canada. Here, where members of the Anglophone majority are more supportive of multicultural policy there is a higher preference for integration than in Québec. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the host society plays a relevant role in determining immigrant acculturation preferences.

Given the crucial role of the host society and its members in the acculturation process Bourhis et al. (1997) have expanded Berry's model by including in their new framework, namely the Interactive Acculturation Model, additional elements which assessed the degree of 'fit' between immigrant and host population acculturation strategies as well as the degree of that compatibility's impact on intergroup relations. As figure 2.2 shows the acculturation strategies of immigrants (horizontal axes) and those of the host population (vertical axes) do not necessarily coincide.

**Figure 2.2** – Bourhis' s et al. (1997) Interactive Acculturation Model

Host community acculturation orientation	Immigrant acculturation orientation				
	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION	SEPARATION	ANOMIE	INDIVIDUALISM
INTEGRATION	CONSENSUAL	PROBLEMATIC	CONFLICTUAL	PROBLEMATIC	PROBLEMATIC
ASSIMILATION	PROBLEMATIC	CONSENSUAL	CONFLICTUAL	PROBLEMATIC	PROBLEMATIC
SEGREGATION	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL
EXCLUSION	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL
INDIVIDUALISM	PROBLEMATIC	PROBLEMATIC	PROBLEMATIC	PROBLEMATIC	CONSENSUAL



Different combinations of acculturation strategies between immigrants and host population were divided into three types of compatibility or relational outcomes: consensual, problematic and conflictual (Bourhis et al., 1997). A consensual relationship results when both the immigrant and the host community choose integration, assimilation or individualism. Conversely, conflictual 'fit' results, for instance, if immigrants want to separate and host community wants them to assimilate. Generally, the model predicts that the most intergroup conflict is found in all cases in which host community members refuse contacts with immigrants and in all cases in which immigrants have separatist orientations. The IAM's principles about the compatibility or discrepancy between immigrants and host nationals' acculturation strategies have been supported in acculturation literature. Existing studies that applied the IAM have shown that the better the fit between acculturation strategies, the more favourable the perceived intergroup relations among both immigrant group members and host population (Zagefka and Brown, 2002), while the bigger the discrepancy, the worse the fit among immigrant group members and the greater their acculturative stress (Pfafferott and Brown, 2006). These studies clearly show that the acculturation process can no longer be viewed solely in terms of the experiences of the immigrant, but should also consider the mutual change that occurs when distinct cultural groups come into contacts with each other. Furthermore, a more complete understanding of the acculturation process will be gained if interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that result from the combination of immigrant and host national acculturation preferences are considered. So far applications of the IAM are still limited in the acculturation literature and further research is needed to test whether its predictions are supportive also in other countries and among different ethnic groups.

### **2.3 Social psychological theories**

In addition to acculturation models and research, social psychology theories of intergroup relations are relevant to the analysis of relations between immigrant groups and the host population. Until recently, however, this discipline has not contributed significantly to the study of migration and most of the research

conducted within this discipline was based on laboratory settings using artificial groups or the minimal group paradigm<sup>1</sup> (e.g. Tajfel et al., 1971), without considering historical, cultural, social and political aspects of group relations, which are very relevant in the study of immigration. Yet, social psychology has much to offer in explaining important aspects of migration, like defining the groups (who are we and who are they), analysing patterns of discrimination or prejudice between immigrants and host population (how we treat each other) and intergroup relations (Pratto and Lemieux, 2001). In contrast to the previous discussion, social psychology theories are especially useful in pointing to the factors that account for the development of favourable or unfavourable intergroup relations. In particular, they looked at the role of cognitive processes (e.g. stereotyping and categorizations) and individual behaviours (e.g. intolerance and discrimination) for understanding intergroup dynamics and for resolving intergroup conflicts. Other theories have instead highlighted the importance of intergroup contacts in order to achieve favourable intergroup relations, or the role of perceived threats to cherished values, beliefs, and social order to predict negative attitudes toward immigrant group members. These theories and their contribution to the study of intergroup relations are presented in the following sections.

### **2.3.1 The Contact hypothesis**

Numerous scholars have investigated intergroup relations through the lenses of the ‘contact hypothesis’ (e.g. Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1998). This theory suggests that negative attitudes of one group toward another are caused by ignorance about that group and separation, and that sustained and close contacts reduce hostility and promote more positive intergroup attitudes. The contact experience, in fact, gives the opportunity to individuals of different racial or ethnic groups to come into positive and personal contacts and to get direct

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<sup>1</sup> The minimal group paradigm is a concept used in social psychology to identify the minimal requirements needed for intergroup discrimination. In these experiments it was discovered that humans are inclined to separate into groups and form identities based on group membership. Once part of a group, members tend to evaluate in-group members positively and out-group members negatively, even when they are grouped randomly and they are informed that the groups are random.

information about attitudes, values, and experiences of the other groups. This positive perception of the individual that results from the contact experience is assumed to become extended also to that individual's group as a whole, thus ameliorating negative attitudes toward the group (Pettigrew, 1997). However, in order to be effective interactions need to take place *under specific conditions*. According to Allport (1954), the four prerequisites of successful contacts are: equal status; cooperation between groups; common goals; and support of authorities, law or customs.

Although initial applications of the contact hypothesis were based on experimental designs aimed at examining the conditions and the psychological processes responsible for reducing intergroup conflicts and prejudices, later studies supported its predictions in several empirical research contexts. Voci and Hewstone (2003), for example, illustrated how intergroup contacts with immigrants in Italy are effective in reducing anti-immigrant sentiments. Similarly, Escandell and Ceobanu (2009) showed that close and occasional forms of contact of Spanish with African and Latin American immigrants were consistent predictors of lessened exclusionism. Van Oudenhoven and Groenewoud (1996) provided additional testing of the contact hypothesis using data collected among secondary school pupils in the Netherlands. Other studies confirmed the positive effect of contacts on intergroup relations even when the key conditions proposed by Allport (1954) are not met. As noted by Pettigrew (1998), in fact, Allport's prerequisites facilitate contacts because they provide the ground for the development of intergroup friendship. However, the establishment of friendship is the factor that ultimately reduces hostility and prejudice toward out-group members (Pettigrew, 1998). The positive effect of friendship and acquaintances was further accentuated by what Miller (2002) called the 'bi-directional process of personalised communication among groups'. More specifically, he believed that contacts could reduce prejudice and conflicts especially in those settings where personalised communication and cooperation were habitual (e.g. work place and school). A similar effect should be expected and was actually found in the place of residence (e.g. Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Ford, 1986), given its possibility for personal acquaintances.

Despite the wealth of empirical evidence documenting improved intergroup relations following cooperative inter ethnic contact, important issues of the contact hypothesis remain unexplained. First, most empirical investigations have focused primarily on the attitudes of majority groups, giving short shrift to the view of the minority groups (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001). Second, most of the studies based on laboratory experiments limited the results to participants within the contact settings. There is inconsistency about the possibility of generalizing the positive attitudes promoted by the contact experience to other out-group members not actually present in the contact situation (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001). Cook's research on interracial contact found evidence of positive attitude change toward out-group members who participated in the research, but little consistency of attitude change toward the out-group as a whole (Cook, 1978). The limits of the traditional contact theory in generalizing positive change of attitudes toward and beliefs about the group as a whole stressed the need for a more elaborated theory. During the 1980s, research on contact hypothesis was enriched by new theoretical perspectives based on social identity and self-categorization theories (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001).

### **2.3.2 Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory**

Social Identity Theory was developed by a group of researchers under the direction of Henri Tajfel in the early 1970s to understand the psychological basis of intergroup relations. At that time, together with various personality accounts of prejudice, the most popular explanation for intergroup discrimination was Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965; LeVine and Campbell, 1972). Put simply, this theory argued that clashes of interests among groups could lead to intergroup competition and consequently to negative outcomes – social conflict, group hostility and prejudiced attitudes and behaviours. In contrast, compatible goals, such as when success requires the cooperation of members of different groups, can foster positive outcomes (Terry et al., 2001).

Moving away from this background, Tajfel and colleagues (1971) attempted to identify the *minimal* conditions necessary to lead members of one group to discriminate in favour of their in-group and against the out-group. They

conducted a set of studies in which participants, often schoolchildren, were assigned to groups with limited (or even non-existent) justification. Once the conditions that are typically associated with social discrimination, as conflicts of interest or a history of hostility, were minimized, other factors were introduced to study their relative impact on the development of discrimination. In all of these studies, at least a degree of ethnocentrism was found to be the consequence of the groupings, even when the participants knew that the groupings were made on a random basis. It was concluded that there was strong evidence that the mere awareness of being in one group as opposed to another could produce intergroup discrimination (Tajfel, 1978). In trying to explain the findings of the minimal group experiments and how the categorization in in-group and out-group can produce in-group favouritism, Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) developed the Social Identity Theory. A central issue of this theory concerns the explanation of why individuals behave in terms of categories distinction. It is claimed that individuals organize their understanding of the social world on the basis of categorical distinctions. Since individual persons are themselves members of some social categories and not others, social categorization leads to a distinction between in-group and out-group. In-group members are perceived to be similar and to possess positive qualities (the *intergroup accentuation* principle). This positive distinctiveness leads to positive bias (the *in-group favouritism* principle). In contrast, out-group members are perceived to be different and to possess less favourable qualities and hence may attract negative attitudes (the *social competition* principle). Thus, categorization is seen the first and crucial step responsible for dividing people into 'us' and 'them'. When this is followed by evaluative discriminations that define 'us' better than 'them' and by attitudes and behaviours that favour the in-group and derogate the out-group, intergroup conflicts will be produced (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001).

Since social identity is a concept that draws boundaries between those we consider the same and those we consider different from everyone else it both integrates and divides. Therefore, measuring social identity requires first an element of inclusiveness to identify the characteristics shared with those one psychologically belongs. The first dimension of social identity is *self-*

*categorization*, which refers to ‘identification *as*’, and which locates an individual in a group. This cognitive component of social identity should be distinguished from ‘identification *with*’, which indicates positive affect toward other in-group members (Citrin et al., 2001). The affective dimension of social identity gives information about feelings of closeness to the group and its values. The third component of social identity is the *content* of the social identity, which refers to the normative content, the sets of ideas about the group members, its core values and what makes that group particularly distinct. Social identity theory and self-categorization theory have proved to be fruitful theories of intergroup behaviour, and widely used to interpret the intergroup processes between immigrants and host society.

### **2.3.3 Combining contact hypothesis and categorization theories: the de-categorization model, the common in-group identity model and the dual identity model**

According to the self-categorization theory, individuals categorise themselves at different levels of inclusiveness: e.g. at the individual or intergroup level or as human species (Hogg and McGarty, 1990; Reicher et al., 1995; Turner et al., 1987). The kind of categorization that is salient for people can be changed and can produce different outcomes. Research on intergroup relations has tried to combine the contact research with the concepts of social identity theory and self-categorization theory. This combination provided a new theoretical framework for understanding the kind of categorization that can produce positive cooperative contacts. Three kinds of salient categorization have been developed and investigated: de-categorization, re-categorization and dual identity.

The *de-categorization* or the *personalization model*, proposed by Brewer and Miller (1984), is an elaboration of the concepts expressed by the contact hypothesis and assumes that the mere categorization of people into distinct groups is sufficient to create intergroup bias (Tajfel et al., 1971). Consequently, favourable contacts with out-group members will be most effective in ameliorating attitudes toward them if the salience of group categorization is reduced (Brewer, 1979; Turner, 1981). When this is the case the contact situation

provides the opportunity to disconfirm category stereotypes and to know people as individuals and not as members of groups. In support of the personalization model several studies based on experimental designs have found that intergroup bias was reduced when group members behaved in a way that could facilitate de-categorization and personalization (Bettencourt et al., 1992; Miller et al., 1985). The model is also supported by studies regarding attitudes toward immigrant groups in Western Europe (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). These studies have demonstrated that Europeans who were friends with out-group members were less prejudiced (Pettigrew, 1998) than Europeans who had no interactions with ethnically or culturally diverse people. Personal friendship with out-group members provides evidence of more positive and tolerant contacts also with out-groups in general through a process that Pettigrew (1997) defined 'de-provincialization'.

The second social categorization model of intergroup contacts is the *re-categorization* or the *common in-group identity model*, proposed by Gaertner and colleagues (1989) and reformulated by Gaertner et al. (2000). The model suggests that the key to reduce intergroup bias is the reduction of the salience of intergroup distinction. Unlike the de-categorization approach, the re-categorization model does not suggest the elimination of categories, but rather to re-categorize in-groups and out-groups in a more inclusive super ordinate way. If members of different groups conceive themselves as a single group rather than as two separate groups, former out-group members will benefit from the cognitive and motivational process that initially produced in-group favouritism (Dovidio et al. 1997). These assumptions have been confirmed in several experimental and field studies (Dovidio et al., 1998; Gaertner et al., 1989). Consistently, the transformation of membership from 'us' versus 'them' to a more inclusive 'we' has proved to be correlationally associated to decreased bias. However, this evidence is less clear regarding a global attitude change. A majority of studies, in fact, found that reduced biased and positive attitudes toward individuals within the contact setting do not translate into a more positive behaviour toward other individual group members (e.g. Dovidio et al. 1997; Gonzalez and Brown, 2003), and that in order to be achieved global attitude change need to be controlled under carefully conditions. Although both the de-categorization and the re-

categorization models may reduce intergroup bias and discrimination, they contradict Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory of social identity. According to Brewer, an optimal social identity is achieved when one's distinctiveness and inclusiveness needs are satisfied. For this reason, highly inclusive super ordinate categories, like the ones proposed by the common in-group identity model, do not satisfy distinctiveness needs, while high degrees of personalization like the ones prescribed by the de-categorization model, fail to meet the need of belonging to a group (Hogg and Abrams, 1993).

An alternative model, developed to reduce intergroup bias and simultaneously preserving the needs for inclusion and differentiation, is the *dual identity hypothesis*. Proposed by Dovidio and colleagues (1998), and improved by Hornsey and Hogg (2000), it suggests that maintaining simultaneously in-group/out-group distinction and a super ordinate identity, may produce positive intergroup attitudes and behaviours. This strategy represents a new approach to the study of intergroup relations and it is based on the fusion of three models that have received substantial empirical support: the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), the social identity theory (Tajfel et al., 1971), and the common in-group identity model (Gaertner et al., 2000). While the first two preserve individuals' needs to achieve and maintain a distinctive positive group identity, the latter promotes positive intergroup relations as a consequence of the re-categorization process. The dual identity is in line with multicultural policies, which support both cultural assimilation and cultural maintenance. Applied to minority groups, as immigrants, the dual identity approach seems the most effective strategy since it allows them to identify with the host population, re-categorizing themselves as members of a more inclusive group (Gonzalez and Brown, 2003), while at the same time keeping their distinctive ethnic identity.

### **2.3.4 Integrated Threat Theory**

Integrated threat theory (ITT) of prejudice is an offshoot of research on intergroup relations (Stephan et al., 1999) that focuses on the factors that trigger negative attitudes toward out-group members. In recent decades, many researchers have suggested that fear and perception of threat play an important



role in predicting prejudice toward out-group members in general and immigrants in particular. The fear comes from the perception of threat posed by immigrants to the political and economic power of the in-group, as well as to its values, beliefs and morals (Stephan et al., 2005). Recently, an attempt has been made to consider other forms of threats people experience in intergroup interaction and to combine them into a more comprehensive model of prejudice (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). This expanded model identifies four types of threats: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes.

Realistic threats concern threats to the physical or material well being of the group or its members. Derived from realistic group conflict theory (Ashmore and Del Boca, 1976; Bobo, 1988), the concept of realistic threats assumes that intergroup conflict nourishes antagonism and has a material basis, such as competition over resources. Seen in this perspective, negative attitudes towards immigrants or other out-group members are a defensive reaction against the implicit or explicit challenges posed by out-group members to the privileged position of the dominant group. Consequently, the greater the senses of threat, the more negative the attitudes toward the threatening groups (Quillian, 1995). However, unlike the idea of threat embodied in the realistic group conflict theory, which derives from economic competition, this type of threat is broader, encompassing any perceived threat to the welfare of the group or its members (Stephan et al., 2005). Symbolic threats refer to the perception that out-group members have a differing value system than one's own group and that these different values have the potential of altering the values and beliefs of one's in-group. Specifically, theorists operating from the ITT framework suggest that intergroup biases and intergroup conflicts occur as a result of perceived threats posed by the out-group to values, beliefs, and attitudes of the in-group, or more generally to the worldview of the in-group (Stephan et al., 2005). The third type of threat concerns intergroup anxiety. It arises when people feel personally threatened in intergroup interactions because of fear of negative psychological outcomes for the self (e.g. being embarrassed), negative behavioural outcomes (e.g. being physically harmed), negative evaluations by out-group members or negative evaluations by in-group members (Stephan and Stephan, 1985). Finally,

negative stereotypes about the out-group represent a threat since they can lead to negative expectations concerning the behaviours of members of the stereotyped group. For instance, when out-group members are perceived as untrustworthy, aggressive and dishonest in-group members may feel threatened by the possibility of interacting with them (Stephan et al., 2005). As a consequence they tend to avoid out-group members' contacts.

ITT has been widely used to analyse attitudes toward such diverse groups as Black and Whites in USA (Stephan et al., 2002), women's attitudes toward men (Stephan et al., 2000), and people with AIDS and cancer (Berrenberg et al., 2002). It has been widely applied also in studies about the relationship between immigrants and host population (Stephan et al., 1998, 1999). It is particularly useful for the study here because it provides a valuable framework for understanding and explaining the reasons behind prejudice toward immigrant group members. Prejudice and violence against immigrants, in fact, persist in many immigration countries and locating the sources of prejudice in individuals' fear of perceived threat to their cultural, economic and political stability may represent a meaningful explanation of the determinants of negative attitudes toward immigrants.

### **2.3.5 Instrumental Model of Group Conflict**

The instrumental model of group conflict (Esses et al., 1998) is a recent model on intergroup relations, which highlights the role of threat as a relevant factor to understanding the nature of intergroup attitudes and behaviours. Built on the framework of realistic group conflict theory<sup>2</sup> (Campbell, 1965; LeVine and Campbell, 1972) and social dominance theory<sup>3</sup> (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius and Pratto 1999), the instrumental model of group conflict suggests that the combination of resource stress along with the salience of a potentially competitive out-group leads to intergroup tensions.

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<sup>2</sup> Realistic group conflict theory is a theory of group relations that explains intergroup hostility in terms of competition for limited and valued resources.

<sup>3</sup> Social dominance theory is a conflict-type theory developed within social psychology, which posits that intergroup hostility, derives from the basic human predisposition to form and maintain hierarchical and group based systems of social organizations. These systems of hierarchy and inequalities are such that some groups have greater access to wealth and power than others.

The term *resource stress* refers to the perception that, within a society, access to economic resources, such as jobs and money, as well as social and political power may be limited for certain groups. Several factors can determine the degree of resource stress. First, scarcity of resources, whether real or perceived, can give the impression that there is not enough for everybody (Esses et al., 1998). Second, the unequal distribution of resources may increase the perception that resources are not available for all groups in sufficient quantities. Consequently, while members of lower status groups may feel themselves to be in a disadvantaged position in terms of having access to resources, those who belong to higher status groups may feel afraid of losing their prestigious position. Third, the recognition that resources are unequally distributed among groups is related to the perception that there is not enough to go around. Individuals who desire a hierarchical structure in society are likely to believe that resources that are limited are of greatest value. By definition, then, some groups will have limited access to these resources (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius and Pratto, 1999).

The awareness that resources are limited leads individuals to compete for them. However, not all groups are perceived as potential competitors, but only salient and distinct groups. Salience and distinctiveness can be accentuated by such things as increasing size of the group and distinguishable appearance and behaviour (Esses and Vernon, 2009). Moreover, groups to be potential competitors must also be similar on dimensions and be interested in obtaining the same resources. If groups' goals are compatible, positive relations are likely to exist. In contrast, when groups' interests are incompatible, conflictual intergroup relations result. Additionally, groups who have relevant skills, who can count on external support for resources, and who are willing to fight to obtain resources are more likely to be considered as potential competitors. The competition among groups for resources often takes the form of zero-sum beliefs system, where there is a perception that any goods, benefits or opportunity given to one group result in losses of goods, benefits or opportunity available to other groups (Ward and Masgoret, 2006).

The relation between immigrants and host population may be perceived as a conflictual one since the two groups can be in a position of clash of interests (Ward and Masgoret, 2006). The competition for resources between the two

groups may produce negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration and lack of readiness to help immigrants in ways that this may represent a threat to the host population and reduce their chances to access available resources. Different strategies are applied to reduce out-group competitiveness. Attempts to remove the source of competition include, for instance, out-group derogation, discrimination toward immigrants, refuse of support for immigration policies, and avoidance of out-group members' contacts.

Support for the instrumental model of group conflict in the migration context can be found in Esses et al.'s (2001) study on the attitudes toward immigration and immigrants in Canada and the United States. They concluded that perceived zero-sum competition between groups is strongly implicated in negative immigration attitudes. Their results suggest that members of the host population see immigrants as competing not only for economic and power resources but also for establishing which group's culture and values are most 'important' or most 'correct'.

## **2.4 Combining acculturation and social psychology research**

The review of acculturation and social psychology theories of intergroup relations presented in the previous sections illustrated how these two theoretical approaches have dealt with similar topics: e.g. social identity, intergroup contacts, intergroup relations, intergroup threat. Nevertheless, until recently they have developed along different paths in the study of immigrants-host population relationship (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Research on acculturation was mainly descriptive (they often described the types of acculturation strategies preferred by immigrants and host population), and when analysing the effects of different acculturation strategies it mostly focused on intrapersonal consequences rather than intergroup relations. In contrast, social psychologists have often tested their theories considering groups isolated from historical and cultural factors, like the minimal group paradigm. The migration setting offered the chance to apply theoretical paradigms of social psychology under more real circumstances. The examples that will be illustrated in this section demonstrate how acculturation research can be merged with social psychological theories.

A good example is given by the work of Rohmann, Florack and Piontkowski (2006). In their analysis of host and immigrant attitudes in Germany, they combined the acculturation approach with the integrated threat theory. More specifically, they explored whether discordance on the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation between Germans and immigrants could predict realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety. In line with their assumption their results indicated that discordant acculturation attitudes of Turkish and Italian immigrants in Germany and host population are an antecedent of intergroup threats.

Kosic, Mannetti and Sam (2005) investigated the relationship between Italians' attitudes towards immigrant acculturation strategies and the level of prejudice toward immigrants. They identified which acculturation strategies Italians favoured the most and which of these strategies were highly dependent on prejudice towards out-group members. Results indicated that prejudice towards immigrants affected the evaluation of acculturation strategies. More specifically, the more prejudiced the respondent was, the more negative was his or her attitude towards separation and marginalization and the more positive was his or her attitude towards assimilation.

Two papers have addressed the issue of acculturation attitudes and intergroup relations, both applying the IAM. In the first one, Zagefka and Brown (2002) analysed the impact of discordant acculturation attitudes between host nationals and immigrants in Germany on intergroup relations. They assumed that a good match between host national and immigrant acculturation strategies could lead to better intergroup relations (less bias, perceived discrimination and intergroup conflict). In a second paper Pfafferott and Brown (2006) dealt with a similar theme. The two authors tested the impact of discordant acculturation attitudes between minority and majority adolescents in Germany on life satisfaction and intergroup relation variables. Discordances on the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation between respondents and their parents were also analysed. In both papers the degree of 'fit' between immigrant and host population acculturation strategies was assessed by looking at the discrepancy between individuals' desire for culture maintenance and culture adaptation and their *perception* of the respective out-group's desire for culture

maintenance and culture adaptation. This method of measuring the degree of compatibility between immigrant and host national acculturation strategies deviates from the IAM, which instead looks at the objective correspondence between host and immigrant attitudes. However, measurements based on the subjective perception of out-group acculturation attitudes was considered more valuable for the prediction of the acculturative outcome than objective measurements since it was assumed that ‘individual’s psychological responses to the reality was mediated by their subjective perception of this reality’ (Zagefka and Brown, 2002). Both studies validated the IAM having found that concordant acculturation attitudes were associated to better intergroup relations and, in the case of Pfafferott and Brown’s study, to life satisfaction.

In another paper Kosic and Phalet (2006) combined social categorization theory with Berry’s model of acculturation. The two authors tested the assumption that acculturation strategies, attributed to a specific ethnic group, could influence the categorization of immigrants into that group. More specifically, they explored whether Italian host nationals who perceived Albanians or Moroccans to be the most numerous ethnic groups in Italy were most likely to categorize immigrants as belonging to these groups and whether this over-inclusive effect was most pronounced when they perceive immigrants as willing to maintain their heritage culture. Results indicated that the tendency to categorize immigrants as belonging to the largest immigrant groups (Albanians or Moroccans) was strong among host nationals with high levels of prejudice toward these two groups. Results also shown that believing that culture maintenance was highly important for a large group of immigrants was positively related to the categorization of immigrants in that group.

Altogether, the papers presented offer a meaningfully perspective about how the acculturation approach and the social psychology theories can be integrated in the study of relationship between immigrants and host nationals. However, there are important issues that were not considered in existing research and that deserve further investigation. Gaps identified in the existing literature on intergroup relations as well as my contribution to the existing literature on intergroup relations will be presented in more detail in the following section.

## 2.5 Scientific innovations

Let me return for a while to the central question of this thesis: does the support and valorisation of cultural diversity lead to positive intergroup relations or does it threaten social cohesion? My argument in addressing this question was that diversity and culture heterogeneity are not damaging social cohesion, but rather they may contribute to positive intergroup relations if they are well balanced by the adaptation of immigrants to the host country's culture and by the development of a sense of belonging with the new country. In this respect acculturation theories and models as well as social psychology theories of intergroup relations provide a valuable framework. The former, being essentially concerned with understanding cultural and identity changes experienced by immigrant groups following migration and with acculturation strategies adopted by immigrants and host population in the new country, allows one to determine the acculturation strategy that is associated with positive intergroup relations. Thus, acculturation models allow one to test whether the integration strategy of acculturation, the only strategy that combines the maintenance of immigrants' culture maintenance with the development of a sense of belonging with the receiving society, is associated with more positive intergroup relations in comparison to other acculturation strategies. Although acculturation research has mainly described immigrants' attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation, acculturation models take into consideration also the host population's acculturation attitudes, thus allowing a comparison between the views of both immigrants and host population.

Understanding whether intergroup relations would benefit from the support and promotion of cultural diversity also requires exploring the attitudes of the host population toward immigrants and vice versa and, consequently, understanding the determinants and the roots of possible discriminatory attitudes. The contribution of social identity theories of intergroup relation is essential for this purpose. I avoided early conceptualisations of social psychologist theories, which explained hostile attitudes of host population toward immigrants in terms

of authoritarian personality<sup>4</sup> because its validity has been contested. I have rather opted for theories that focused more on motivational and cognitive factors to explain negative attitudes toward out-group members. Since prejudice and discrimination are determined by multiple factors I decided to refer to different theories, each identifying some of the factors that may account for the development of positive or negative intergroup attitudes. In fact, even if every theory approaches discrimination focusing on a single factor that underlies intolerant attitudes and beliefs, no single approach can provide a complete explanation of prejudice or its consequences.

Thus, the acculturation models and social psychology theories of intergroup relations that I have presented and critically reviewed in the previous sections are relevant not only to understand the dynamics of intergroup relations but they are also pertinent for addressing my research question. From the analysis of existing literature a few points can be drawn. First of all it can be noted that the combination of the acculturation framework with that of social psychology theories of intergroup relations can provide a more complete theoretical approach for the understanding of intergroup relations. Acculturation researchers have, in fact, inspired social psychologists to extend their research to the context of immigration instead of limiting their analyses only to isolated groups (e.g. minimal group experiments). On the contrary, social psychologists have encouraged acculturation theorists to formulate more precise theoretical explanations. So, it can be concluded that the two approaches complement each other in the study of intergroup relations.

Second, some theoretical models in the acculturation literature, like the Interactive Acculturation Model, have to be additionally tested to see whether the validity of its predictions is supported also in different contexts and studying different groups. Moreover, previous applications of the IAM did not take into account the domain specificity principle, that is, the fact that individuals may adopt different acculturation strategies in various domains of life. For example, immigrants may want to assimilate in the work place, but they can still prefer to

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<sup>4</sup> The Authoritarian Personality is a theory developed by Adorno et al., in 1950 which posits that growing up in a family with limited freedom, harshness, strict adherence to social norms, and punishment in case of disobedience caused intrapersonal conflict and, in turn, led to hostile attitudes toward individuals or groups that appear to be weak or lower in status (e.g. ethnic minorities).



segregate at home when interacting only with their family members. Accordingly, the combination between immigrant and host national acculturation attitudes can produce different relational outcomes if the distinction among acculturation in the various domains of life is considered. In the present thesis, the domain specificity principle will be applied both when testing Berry's model and the impact of the acculturation strategies on intergroup relations as well as in the application of the IAM. The distinction between acculturation in the public domain and acculturation in the private domain will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. My last consideration concerning existing acculturation research refers to the imprecise and sometime interchangeably use of the terms 'culture' and 'identity' in the acculturation literature. In the present thesis I separately investigate cultural and identity changes and their impact on intergroup relations (a detailed explanation concerning the definitions and the distinction between these two concepts will be discussed later in the present chapter).

Third, in social psychology discrimination and its consequences were generally studied focusing only on majority groups (Esses et al., 1993) omitting minority group members' attitudes toward majority group members. Yet, it is just as important to study minority group attitudes because those attitudes also influence their process of acculturation. In this research the attitudes of Italians and Moroccans toward one another are analysed.

Finally, the last point concerns the methodology applied in social psychology studies. Within this discipline theories have mostly been tested using quantitative methods (Leong, 2008). The rationale for this choice derives from the fact that most social psychology research was based on experimental designs studying experimental groups. The application of social psychology theories to migration studies and, thus, to more real contexts and groups may be approached also with qualitative methods providing a wider understanding of the intergroup dynamics that are difficult to be captured with survey data only. The combination of quantitative data with qualitative data, as has been done in this study, can provide a deeper analysis of the relationship between different ethnic groups.

To sum up, in this research the relationship between Italian and Moroccan immigrants living in Turin will be analysed using a theoretical approach that

combines acculturation models and social psychology theories of intergroup relations. Building on previous research that studied intergroup relation referring to these two theoretical approaches the present thesis proposes to:

- 1) Examine the impact of immigrant and host national acculturation orientations on intergroup relations, distinguishing between public and private domains.
- 2) Make a distinction between the concepts of culture and identity in the analyses of immigrant and host population acculturative changes.
- 3) Study intergroup relations using a mixed method approach that combines both survey data and qualitative data.

### **2.5.1 Acculturation in the public and in the private domains**

Individuals' attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation to the new society may vary across life spheres (Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Kim et al., 2001). It is generally accepted that while new knowledge and rules necessary for effective living can be acquired quickly, beliefs or values take longer to be acquired (Chance, 1965; Richardson, 1961). In the acculturation literature it is argued that acculturation is domain-specific: some domains (e.g. work values and practices) are more open to acculturative change than others (e.g. family values and practices). A key distinction here is between public and private domains (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003). This distinction was also considered in Rex's studies where he developed a model of multicultural society by distinguishing between the public and the private domain (Rex, 1996). He considered law, politics, economy and education<sup>5</sup> as institutions of the public domain, while values, beliefs and religion as aspects of the private domain. Similarly, in the acculturation literature the distinction between the public and the private domain was based on the dichotomy home and outside home. The problem with this definition is the arbitrariness of what is considered home and outside home. In fact, outside home may be seen as private domain when ethnic

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<sup>5</sup> Education was also included in the private domain. In fact, besides the function of transmitting skills and selecting individuals on the basis of their achievements, educational systems transmit moral values as well, an aspect that usually pertains the private sphere.

enclaves are taken into account since it is likely that interactions outside home also occur with members of the same ethnic group. School is another outside home domain where the private/public boundaries are blurred (Rex, 1996). Social contact with host-nationals may be a private domain if we consider mixed marriages or home visits. For the purpose of this study I apply the definition given by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, who considered the public domain the functional and utilitarian aspect of life and the private domain as the social-emotional and the value-related domain (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003). In the former, the norms of the dominant group are usually most salient and influential. Conversely, as family and community contexts are predominantly co-ethnic, ethnic in-group norms are most salient and most easily endorsed in private contexts (Van de Vijver and Phalet, 2004). A study on Turkish acculturation in the Netherlands has found that the immigrant group prefers adaptation to the Dutch culture more in the public domain than in the private domain, while cultural maintenance seems important in both domains. The Dutch participants did not show this domain specificity, suggesting that the psychological processes of acculturation have different meanings, consequences and implications for majority and minority groups (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003). With reference to this difference between the public and the private domains, as I mentioned before, previous applications of the IAM failed to operationalize this distinction.

### **2.5.2 Culture and identity**

In the present research a distinction between cultural heritage and cultural identity is considered as well. Generally, in the acculturation literature these two terms have been used interchangeably, and changes in cultural characteristics of a particular ethnic group were thought to imply changes in ethnicity (Phinney, 1996); but the two terms should be distinguished (Van Oudenhoven, et al., 2006). Culture is a complex construct and can be seen as the combination of customs, traditions, language, values of one's own group. In the acculturation process the level of concern is generally the group rather than the individual, and the focus is on how minority or immigrant groups relate to the dominant or host

society (Phinney, 1990). On the contrary, ethnic identity comprises a number of different components including positive evaluation of the group individuals belong to, a sense of pride and belonging to an ethnic group, involvement in activities associated with that group. Ethnic identity can be considered as an aspect of psychological acculturation, in which the concern is with individuals and the way they relate to their own group, as a subgroup of the larger society (Phinney, 1990). Ethnic identity is examined and found to be independent from other aspects of acculturation (Keefe and Padilla, 1987; LaFromboise, et al., 1993; Phinney, 1990). Results of Keefe and Padilla's (1987) study on Mexican Americans led the authors to conclude that loss in the Mexican culture did not entail a loss in the Mexican ethnic identity. In other words, ethnic identity may remain strong even when there is little cultural involvement (Keefe, 1992). Thus, immigrants may adapt to the habits, customs, and norms of the new country of settlement, learn the language and adopt the dress code of host nations and still identify strongly with their ethnic group. In sum, immigrants may adapt to some aspects of the new society without giving up their ethnic identity (Van Oudenhoven, et al., 2006). This suggests that when studying the processes of changes in ethnic groups as a consequence of contacts over a period of time between two or more different ethnic groups, acculturation and ethnic identity should be investigated separately.

Two different models have been used to study changes in ethnic identity, namely a linear and a two-dimensional model (Phinney et al., 2001). In the former, ethnic identity and identity as a member of one's new society (national identity) are negatively correlated, so when one identity is strong the other is necessarily weak. In this case the process of change requires giving up the ethnic identity and assimilating to the national identity (Phinney et al., 2001). On the contrary, the two-directional model assumes that ethnic and national identities among immigrants are independent. Phinney and colleagues (2001) explained the variation in ethnic and national identities referring to the same theoretical framework used to understand acculturation. By analogy with Berry's acculturation model, ethnic identity and national identity can be thought of as varying independently; that is, they can both be either high or low. If an individual identifies strongly with his/her ethnic group and at the same time

identifies with the new society, he is considered to have a dual or integrated identity. One who retains a strong ethnic identity but does not identify with the new society has a separate identity. The individual who gives up his/her ethnic identity and identifies only with the new culture has an assimilated identity, whereas one who identifies neither with the ethnic identity nor with the national identity is said to have a marginalized identity. Research generally supports a two-directional model. The identification with one of the four possible categories may vary, however, across immigrant groups (Hutnik, 1991; Phinney et al., 1997) and across national settings. In general, ethnic identity is likely to be strong when immigrants have a strong desire to retain their identities and when pluralism is encouraged and accepted. Conversely, when assimilation policies are promoted and immigrants feel accepted, the national identity is likely to be strong. Situations of real or perceived hostility toward immigrants or particular groups can either stimulate rejection of their own ethnic identity or, accentuate the pride and solidarity toward the group, as a way of reacting toward negative attitudes (Phinney et al., 2001). Research has demonstrated that nations that adopt multicultural policies by supporting the maintenance of the culture of origin and by promoting a super-ordinate national identity show a higher level of tolerance (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Within this respect Canada represents a positive example of a multicultural society. The positive effect of policies that aim to valorise immigrants' ethnic identity and to support a super-ordinate national identity are also in line with what is predicted by the *dual identity hypothesis* (Dovidio et al., 1998; Hornsey and Hogg 2000).

### 2.5.3. Hypotheses

The present study combines acculturation models and social psychology theories on intergroup relations in a single theoretical framework to analyse the relationship between Moroccans and Italians in Turin, Italy (figure 2.3). The left side of the figure refers to acculturation theories. As I explained before, such theories can be applied both to the immigrant group and the host population, since they are both concerned with the issues of the maintenance of cultural traits and values, and contacts between members of the two groups. The intersection



national group, whereas I do not have any expectations concerning Italian respondents.

A second set of hypotheses concerns the impact of acculturation attitudes and identity patterns on intergroup relations. More specifically these hypotheses test which of the four acculturation orientations are associated with best intergroup relations, in terms of tolerance, positive perception of the quality of intergroup relations and positive attitudes toward out-group members. I hypothesise that the preference for an acculturation orientation that values immigrants' heritage culture and the culture of the new society in the public domain is associated with best intergroup outcomes among the host nationals. I do not have expectations concerning the effect of acculturation orientations in the private domain and identity patterns on intergroup relations. Among members of the migrant group I expect to find a positive impact of the integration orientation in the public domain on intergroup relations, while I have no expectations concerning the impact of acculturation orientations in the private domain on intergroup relations. Furthermore, I expect a positive association between Moroccans' integrated identity and positive intergroup relations. The integrated identity, in fact, enables the simultaneous maintenance of the in-group/out-group distinction, preserving the distinctiveness principle, whereby individuals need to feel part of a distinct group, and which is prescribed by the social identity and self-categorization theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), and a superordinate identity as members of the receiving society (inclusiveness principle). This in turn is expected to lead to positive intergroup relations as suggested by the *dual identity hypothesis* (Dovidio et al., 1998; Hornsey and Hogg, 2000) (right side of the figure 2.3).

The final group of hypotheses concerns the interplay between immigrant and host national acculturation orientations and their impact on interethnic relations. I hypothesise that a consensual fit combination between immigrant and host national acculturation orientations is associated with the best intergroup relations both in the public and in the private domain as well concerning identity patterns. Moreover, I hypothesise that less discrepancy between immigrant and host national acculturation orientations is related to best interethnic relations.

Overall, I expect that in both groups the support for Moroccan heritage culture and identity, and the culture of the new society is associated with harmonious intergroup relations. However, the conditions are not always such that this acculturation ‘strategy’ can be indeed embraced. In fact, integration can be freely chosen only in those countries that are open toward cultural diversity and that manifest low levels of intolerance and ethnocentrism (Berry, 2003). With the aim of analysing whether in my context of study such conditions are satisfied, results from the above-mentioned hypotheses are deepened through qualitative data. This information also serves to give an insightful analysis of what the reasons are for explaining Italian intolerance toward Moroccans. In this respect the role of threat has been examined. Finally, I investigate the role of interethnic contacts in fostering positive intergroup relations. In this part of the study I explicitly refer to some of the social psychology theories on intergroup relations (right side of the figure 2.3) e.g. integrated threat theory, instrumental model of group conflict and contact hypothesis. Moroccans’ attitudes toward Italians are also analysed. In particular, I have investigated whether among Moroccans a degree of ethnocentrism exists or whether they are open toward Italian culture and community. Together the quantitative and the qualitative analyses should be considering as complementing each other in the study of Moroccan-Italian relations in Turin. More detailed information about the methodology and the data used in the present thesis is provided in next chapter.



## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This thesis has benefited from the adoption of a mixed methodology, an approach that has been gaining acceptance and that is becoming more common among researchers in the social sciences. Although there are multiple ways to mix methods, and various names ascribed to this process, mixed methods can be generally defined as the integration of more than one method or data source to investigate a phenomenon (Tashakkori and Teddie 1998). The validity of supplementing quantitative data and analysis with insights derived from qualitative work, and vice versa (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Howe, 2004) has been questioned by some researchers, who contested the combination of two methods associated with different paradigmatic approaches to research. On the contrary, other researchers claim that mixed methods provide a more exhaustive understanding of a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research alone (Newman and Benz, 1998). The combination of qualitative and quantitative data, in fact, can overcome the limits and weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research, providing the opportunity of answering questions that cannot be answered by the two approaches alone (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). In this study the use of mixed methods attempts to serve the dual purposes of generalizations (even though limited to the sample selected) and in-depth understanding of intergroup dynamics through detailed information from a smaller sample. More specifically, while survey data allowed me to test hypotheses concerning the impact of acculturation strategies on intergroup

relations, in-depth interviews could give insights into other aspects of the relationship between Italians and Moroccans, namely the attitudes of one group toward the other and the factors that shape these attitudes.

The chapter starts with an analysis of the historical evolution of mixed methods as a separate type of methodology that is clearly distinct from quantitative and qualitative approaches. Following Morse's definition (Morse, 1991) I explain the type of mixed method that has been applied in this study, namely *simultaneous combination of quantitative and qualitative methods within a deductive theoretical drive*. The chapter continues with a presentation of the survey conducted to test the hypotheses concerning the impact of Italian and Moroccan acculturation orientations on intergroup relations. Next, the chapter presents qualitative methods based on unstructured interviews aimed at exploring in more detail the relationship between Italians and Moroccans. Finally, information about the sample, procedures and data processing is provided.

### **3.2 Principles of mixed methods design**

Researchers in the social sciences have a wide range of research methods from which to choose to conduct their inquiries. These methods range from quantitative approaches, to qualitative approaches and, more recently, mixed methods. Quantitatively oriented researchers are interested in measurements and work within the positivist tradition; qualitatively oriented researchers are interested in narrative data and work within the constructivist tradition; and researchers oriented toward the use of mixed methodologies are interested in both types of data and work within the pragmatist tradition (Teddie and Tashakkori, 2003).

Quantitative methodologies and the positivist paradigm were the dominant orientation in social sciences (with the exception of anthropology) during the first half of the 1920s. At that time, social scientists, by analogy with their natural sciences colleagues, sought to understand and explain social reality using the same methods applied to control and predict natural phenomena. The role of the research was to induce theories from pristine observations and then to test these theories under controlled experimental conditions in order to provide

material for the development of causal laws. This way of thinking about the social sciences was based on positivism. Ontologically this paradigm claimed that there was only one objective reality that existed independent of human perception, whereas epistemologically the researchers and the object of study were considered independent entities. Consequently, the researcher could examine and understand a social phenomenon without influencing it or being influenced by it (Sale et al., 2002).

The positivist orientation was strongly criticized by researchers (e.g. Guba and Lincoln, 1994), who proposed an alternative variety of qualitative methods associated with constructivism. This paradigm asserted that the social world and its categories were socially constructed by social actors and in constant evolution (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This notion implied that the reality rather than being treated as an a-priori entity external to us was built up and constructed during and through interaction. Epistemologically, the investigator and the object of study were interactively linked so that findings were mutually created within the context of the situation, which shaped the inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

The idea that one's paradigmatic view of the world should be related to the way one went about researching the world was prompted by Kuhn (1963) and defended by the 'paradigm purists' (Smith, 1994), who believed in the incompatibility thesis with regard to research methods: quantitative and qualitative methodologies were incompatible because they were rooted in different ontological and epistemological assumptions. In the 1980s Lincoln and Guba (1985) contested this idea, contributing significantly to the "paradigm wars", and opened the way to a new research tradition the "pragmatist paradigm and the compatibility thesis". According to the theorists that relied on this tradition the problem was more important than the method, and researchers could use all approaches to understand the problem. In other words, they were "free" to choose the methods, techniques, and procedures to collecting and analysing data rather than subscribing to only one way. This orientation opened the door and legitimised the use of mixed methods.

This research is positioned within this tradition. The use of a single research method, in fact, could not provide a complete understanding of the relationship

between Italians and Moroccans that is instead possible to reach by combining quantitative and qualitative data. While quantitative data are necessary for testing the validity of Berry's acculturation model and the Interactive acculturation model, as well as the causal relations between acculturation strategies and intergroup relation variables, in-depth interviews were particularly suitable for understanding the attitudes of the two groups toward each other and their determinants. The latter approach was quite distinct from previous social psychology studies of intergroup attitudes and prejudice, which generally tested the impact of predictions of social psychology theories of intergroup relations on prejudice with quantitative data. It has to be noted that most of these studies required the use of quantitative data since they were based on experimental designs using measures and samples that could be manipulated. The study of real groups as immigrants groups and host populations implies the consideration of details and patterns that cannot be captured by quantitative measures only. Additionally, my purpose was not to test the association between measures derived from social psychology theories and intergroup relations, but rather to describe the attitudes of one group toward the other and to understand the motives that can shape those attitudes. In the following section the type of mixed method that has been applied will be explained.

### **3.3 Methodological triangulation**

The term mixed methods research is used nowadays to refer to research that combines methods associated with both qualitative and quantitative research. As the field of mixed methods has evolved there has been inconsistency and disagreement among authors in the way certain terms have been defined. For example, Campbell and Fiske (1959) introduced the term "multitrait-multimethod" matrix to indicate the use of several quantitative methods in a single investigation; Hunter and Brewer (2003) defined multimethod strategy the "use of multiple methods in relation to a given set of research questions". However, they did not specify whether they referred to the combination of different types of quantitative methods, or qualitative methods or both. Steckler and colleagues (1992) talked about "integrated" or "combined" methods in the

sense that two forms of data were blended together. In the present research, following Morse's definition, I use the term *methodological triangulation* to refer to the "*combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to address the same research problem*" (Morse, 1991: 120). As argued by the author, the researcher needs to follow specific principles when using methodological triangulation. The first step in quantitative-qualitative triangulation is to determine the *theoretical drive* (Morse, 1991) or the overall thrust of the entire research. For example, if the aim of the research is to test relationships the theoretical drive may be deductive. In contrast, if the research aims to explore or discover the theoretical drive may be inductive. Of course, the overall deductive drive does not change even if parts of the research are exploratory or inductive; and conversely, the use of the inductive approach does not mean that the researcher will not be testing ideas or hypotheses deductively (Morse, 2003).

The second principle refers to different ways in which quantitative and qualitative methods can be combined. It is not enough to simply collect and analyse quantitative and qualitative data; they need to be mixed together in a way that they provide a more complete picture of the problem than they do standing alone. Morse discussed the combination of qualitative and quantitative data through a visual model, which indicates *simultaneous triangulation* with a plus (+) sign and *sequential triangulation* with an arrow (→). In the former case quantitative and qualitative methods are used at the same time, there is little interaction between the datasets during the data collection and the findings complement one another at the end of the study. In sequential triangulation one form of data collection follows another with the second method designed to investigate those problems or issues uncovered by the first one. Figure 3.1 illustrates the four possible combinations using an inductive drive and the four, which use a deductive drive.

Following Morse's classification of methodological triangulation the type of mixed method applied in the present study is exemplified by design 7, that is, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods used simultaneously with a deductive theoretical drive. The use of this method design is motivated by the fact that the primary purpose of this study was to investigate if and how culture and identity changes experienced by immigrants and host population affect their

intergroup relations. More specifically, I was interested in exploring causal relations between immigrant and host national acculturation strategies and intergroup relations. A theoretical framework, based on acculturation models and social psychology theories of intergroup relations, was developed from relevant literature and published research about intergroup relations. Drawing from existing literature I deduced my hypotheses to test empirically. Thus, for this first part of the study the use of quantitative data was the most appropriate approach since in order to apply Berry's model and the IAM I needed numerical data.

**Figure 3.1** – Examples of Types of Design using Morse's Notation System

Design	Theoretical drive	Approach	Type
1.	Inductive	QUAL + qual	Simultaneous
2.	Inductive	QUAL → qual	Sequential
3.	Inductive	QUAL + quan	Simultaneous
4.	Inductive	QUAL → quan	Sequential
5.	Deductive	QUAN + quan	Simultaneous
6.	Deductive	QUAN → quan	Sequential
7.	<b>Deductive</b>	<b>QUAN + qual</b>	<b>Simultaneous</b>
8.	Deductive	QUAN → qual	Sequential

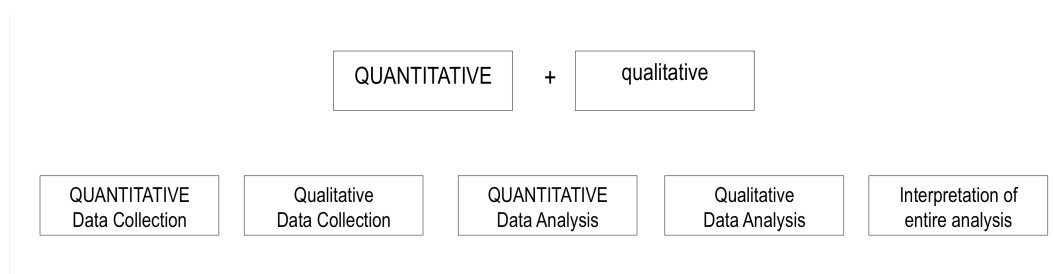
Source: Morse, J.M. (1991).

My main prediction was that the endorsement in both groups of an acculturation strategy that allowed both the maintenance of the heritage culture and the adaptation to the culture of the new society (in Berry' fourfold acculturation model this strategy corresponds to the integration strategy) would result in more favourable intergroup relations. Such a strategy, however, can actually be pursued only in those societies that are open toward cultural diversity, where there are mutual positive attitudes among ethno-cultural groups and where immigrants experience low levels of prejudice and discrimination. Qualitative data aimed essentially to explore these aspects. This part of the study, which is more descriptive, has a practical relevance. Understanding the attitudes toward out-group members and the factors that are associated with negative attitudes is crucial for determining those factors that make relationships between people of different ethno-cultural more harmonious or, on the contrary, more conflictual.

For the interpretation of the attitudes of one group toward the other I referred to some social psychology theories of intergroup relations, which locate the sources of negative attitudes toward out-group members in cognitive processes (e.g. categorizations, stereotyping) or in individuals' fear of perceived threat to their cultural, economic and political stability.

The two types of results were then merged into one overall interpretation as illustrated in the final box of the diagram depicted in figure 3.2, addressing together the overall purpose of the study. The combination of quantitative and qualitative data provided a more complete picture of the problem as it allowed generalizations and the definition of trends as well as in-depth knowledge of participants' perspective. The voices of participants could not be understood solely with the use of quantitative methods and similarly, only the use of qualitative data would not allow one to test relationships between variables. This approach allowed me to use all the tools of data collection that were the most appropriate to address the research questions while at the same time it allowed me to gather more comprehensive evidence of the phenomenon studied.

**Figure 3.2** – Visual Diagram of the combination of qualitative and quantitative data



Source: Creswell et al., 2003

As an alternative to this approach, I could have quantitatively tested the impact of acculturation strategies as well as the effect of predictors derived from social psychology theories on variables measuring intergroup relations and, then, developed through in-depth interviews aspects of the relationship between Italians and Moroccans that were not captured in survey data. This approach would have allowed me to compare the power of the various factors in predicting intergroup relations and identify the factor that has the strongest impact in determining favourable or unfavourable intergroup relations. At the same time this method would have allowed me to explore in more detail additional aspects

of the relationship between Italian and Moroccans through qualitative interviews. Indeed, originally this thesis was designed to identify the factors that could contribute to achieve positive intergroup relations including both predictions of acculturation models, that is the acculturation strategies and predictions derived from social psychology theories of intergroup relations. Three main reasons have deterred me from following this approach. The first reason is that my main interest was to analyse the effect of acculturation on intergroup relations distinguishing between acculturation in the public and in the private domain, and between cultural and identity aspects of the acculturation process. Such distinctions would have been obscured or minimised if the effect of other predictors was included in the analyses. The second reason is that I wanted to avoid the risk of reducing the availability of respondents in participating in the survey by adding questions to measure predictors of social psychology theories that would have resulted in a questionnaire that was too long. Third, I was interested in comparing the views of both Italians and Moroccans and although acculturation models and social psychology theories of intergroup relations can be applied to both host population and immigrant groups there are some theories, such as Integrated Threat Theory that were developed to explain prejudice toward immigrant groups and that could not be used as indicators to explain Moroccan attitudes toward Italians. For the above mentioned reasons I opted for a mixed method approach based on the use of quantitative data to explore whether the integration strategy of acculturation is associated with positive intergroup relations and on the use of qualitative data to explore through the analyses of intergroup attitudes whether the support of cultural diversity together with Moroccans' attachment with the larger society resulted in peaceful intergroup relations.

### **3.4 Quantitative data**

The first part of the study is based on a survey conducted between September 2007 and January 2008 in Turin, Italy. Although the survey started formally in September 2007, I began to develop contacts with the Moroccan community through cultural and religious organizations already in June 2007. These initial



contacts turned out to be very useful as they allowed me to earn trust among Moroccans as well as to gather information that was integrated to qualitative data collected in the second part of the study.

My fieldwork was conducted in Turin, a city that is increasingly experiencing migration from Eastern Europe and African countries and that has been the setting in the past of many conflicts between the local population and the immigrant community (Maritano, 2002). I thought it was especially interesting to investigate how the situation had changed since the riots in 1995 and whether the relationship between the local population and immigrants was still conflictual to some extent or whether the local integration policies contributed positively to non-conflictual relationships. The attention was focused mainly on those two neighbourhoods of the city, as most of the religious, voluntary and intercultural associations are located in those areas. However, to avoid biased results I also contacted Moroccans and Italians who live in areas without a high concentration of immigrants.

A total of 281 respondents were interviewed through structured questionnaires. The sample consisted of 136 Moroccans, from the first and second generation, and 145 Italians, more or less equally divided between men and women, of age that varied between 17 and 80.

### **3.4.1 Sampling**

The survey relied on a convenience sample, since it was the only method that allowed me to reach a reasonable number of participants to interview in a restricted time. As it is often noted (e.g. Fink, 2002; Groves et al., 2009; Scheaffer et al., 2006) convenience samples are usually less costly to generate in terms of money and efforts than probability samples, despite the fact that they are more likely to generate biased results. I attempted to reduce sampling bias and increase the representativeness of my sample by selecting them from various settings. I initially recruited Moroccan participants in the survey through cultural and religious associations. A first visit to the Moroccan consulate in Turin provided me with a list of the most well-known and frequented associations by the Moroccan population. Most of them were created to offer Arabic language

courses and to organize activities that promoted the diffusion and the knowledge of Arabic culture in Turin. The presence in the Moroccan associations of individuals with different characteristics in terms of length of stay in Italy, gender and age allowed me to reach a wide range of respondents. In addition, I selected participants that I met in a variety of settings such as ethnic restaurants, bazaars, translating, and phone centres located in the area near the Moroccan consulate, or that other Moroccans introduced to me. Finally, a number of Moroccans were contacted through intercultural associations and the mosques. They were added to the sample to obtain a heterogeneous distribution also across level of education and social status. Also contacted Moroccans living in areas of the city with a less concentration of immigrants. They were contacted mainly through schools and kindergarten or at the playgrounds.

Similarly, Italian respondents were recruited through intercultural, religious and voluntary associations as well as from various settings such as schools, kindergartens, open markets and shops. In order to avoid overrepresentations in the sample of participants who were in favour of immigrants and immigration, I also contacted Italian members of citizens' committees in San Salvario and Porta Palazzo. Citizens' committees are spontaneous groups of citizens that are created in perceived emergency situations in relation to various types of issues (e.g. security, environmental or neighbourhood revitalization). They were particularly active during the 1990s protests and they were re-organised on the occasion of the launching of an urban renewal program in those two areas<sup>1</sup>. The social composition of these groups of citizens varies widely. They include professionals and businessmen as well as shop owners and manual labourers. Actually, the social composition is not relevant compared to the connection of the committee with the territory with which the group identifies (the committee name is often the name of the neighbourhood or the area where it is active, Dal Lago, 1999). Similarly, the groups are not motivated by general ideologies or by the political ideas of its members, but rather by pragmatic and concrete requests. Even if left wing political parties have often supported grassroots movements, citizen

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<sup>1</sup> The San Salvario spontaneous committee is one of the members of the Agency for the development of San Salvario, a no-profit organization aimed at improving the quality of life in San Salvario, whereas the citizens' committee in Porta Palazzo is part of the project "The Gate. Living and not leaving".

committees refuse any dependence upon political parties that could bind the movement and reduce the popular support for their actions (Poletti, 2005).

During the time spent in Turin I tried to get involved in as many activities there as possible from spending time with second generation Moroccans, participating in the activities organized by some associations for young people where both Italians and Moroccans were present, attending meetings or events arranged by the Municipality or at a neighbourhood level about immigration, to socializing with some of the residents of both groups in local bars, shops or schools. With this strategy I overcame initial difficulties in reaching respondents, especially among Moroccans. Such difficulties were partly related to the fact that the beginning of my data collection coincided with the beginning of Ramadan, that is when Moroccans' participation in daily social activities was minimal, and partly to implicit, and sometimes explicit suspicion, manifested in questions like: "are you a journalist?", "what do you want to know?", "why are you interested in interviewing me. My regular participation in the activities of various cultural associations and frequenting Moroccan people allowed me to earn the trust of potential survey respondents and consequently to limit the number of survey non-responses, especially among Moroccan respondents.

### **3.4.2 Procedures and measures**

A total number of 281 respondents participated in the study. The response rate was about 47% and 53% among Italians and Moroccans respectively. To encourage respondents fill out the questionnaire, I personally handed the questionnaire to them. Some respondents immediately filled it out in my presence while others chose to take the questionnaire with them to fill out and return. Respondents were informed about the purpose of the data collection and were assured about the confidentiality of their responses. This approach was not only ethically correct but enabled me to limit the number of uncompleted questionnaires.

Two questionnaires were prepared one for the Italian sample and one for the Moroccan sample. Although the vast majority of Moroccans were proficient enough to answer the questions in Italian, an Arabic version of the questionnaire

was provided for those who had language difficulties. The Arabic translation was done by a professional translator and was crosschecked by another translator. With the exception of demographic information, the questionnaire asked respondents to rate a series of statements using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (fully agree) to 5 (fully disagree)<sup>2</sup>. Questions were pre-coded and participants simply had to circle the code that corresponded to the answer of their choice.

The survey was designed around three clusters of questions. The first group of questions regarded migration history, family composition, and the educational and professional careers of the participants. Potentially influential background information like gender, age, country of birth, and length of stay in Italy were also included in this section. The second cluster of questions concerned measures for the three indicators of intergroup relations (tolerance, perceived quality of intergroup relations and attitudes toward the out-group). The last cluster of variables referred to socio-cultural orientations. It included measures for ethnic and national identification and attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation. Acculturation was measured using the two-question format, that is, a measurement that keeps the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation separate (e.g. Pfafferott and Brown, 2006; Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2003; Ward and Kennedy, 1994). With this method the acculturation strategies are assessed formulating two items for each domain of life (like language, food, friends, world view), one in the direction of culture maintenance and one in the direction of contact participation. For example, if considering the domain 'lifestyle', respondents have to rate on a Likert scale their agreement or disagreement with reference to these items: a) Are your experiences and behaviours similar to those of the local community? And b) Are your experiences and behaviours similar to those of your own community? The two subscales can be then combined with a mid point technique to classify the subjects into the four acculturation strategies.

Alternatively, acculturation can be measured using a four, or one-question format (Van de Vijver, 2001). The former requires that respondents indicate agreement or disagreement with four statements, each representing the four-

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<sup>2</sup> Detailed information about the indicators used to measure acculturation and the dependent variables will be provided in the subsequent chapters

acculturation strategies – integration, assimilation, segregation, and marginalization (e.g. Berry et al., 1989; Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). For example, when considering the domain ‘social activities’ the integration strategy was assessed with the question ‘I prefer social activities which involve both my own group and the national group’. A one-question format, instead, requires a forced choice between either valuing the ethnic culture, or the host culture, or both cultures, or neither cultures (e.g. the Cultural Integration-Separation, CIS index).

In parallel other researchers have experimented other methods to analyse acculturation attitudes, based on scenarios or vignettes of fictitious newspaper articles in which the protagonist was a man or a woman of the same ethnic group. Respondents had to indicate whether they identified themselves with the person in the vignette or not. Four variations of the articles were used each representing one of the four-acculturation strategies (Kosic et al., 2005; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). In the present study I adopted the two-question format since it is the only method that allowed for the investigation of the two-acculturation dimensions separately as well as the four modes of acculturation.

### **3.4.3 Data processing**

The data obtained from the questionnaire were processed using the SPSS package. Those items, whose reliability test scores were reliable, were computed together in a single index, while those that were not reliable were reduced into a single index with a factor analysis. I used the oblimin rotation method because I wanted to limit the correlation between factors. With the oblimin rotation in fact the degree of correlation allowed among factors is in general small since two highly correlated factors are better interpreted as only one factor. So by applying this type of rotation I could be sure that the variables that loaded into different factors did not correlate. Consequently, I obtained three indexes for the three variables measuring intergroup relations (tolerance, perceived quality of intergroup relation and attitudes toward the out-group), two indexes measuring ethnic identity and national identity and indexes for acculturation. Responses to the acculturation items did not group together to form a single factor as it is

shown in the two tables below. Principal component analysis revealed the presence of three components for both groups with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 42.7%, 23.1% and 13% of the variance respectively for the Italian sample and 44.7%, 19.4% and 15.2% of the variance for the Moroccan sample.

**Table 3.1** – Pattern and Structure Matrix for PCA with Oblimin Rotation of Three Factor Solution of Acculturation Items (Italian sample)

ITEM	Pattern coefficients			Structure coefficients			Communalities
	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	
Moroccan language	<b>.930</b>			<b>.837</b>			.754
Social contact with Moroccans	<b>.853</b>			<b>.887</b>		-.406	.798
Moroccan traditional values	<b>.633</b>		-.358	<b>.781</b>		-.575	.744
Religion	<b>.611</b>		-.398	<b>.776</b>		-.606	.770
Italian traditional values		<b>.904</b>			<b>.898</b>		.830
Child rearing at the Italian way		<b>.903</b>			<b>.904</b>		.818
Italian language			<b>-.878</b>			<b>-.857</b>	.781
Social contact with Italians			<b>-.860</b>	.394		<b>-.890</b>	.801

Note: major loadings for each item are highlighted in bold

**Table 3.2** – Pattern and Structure Matrix for PCA with Oblimin Rotation of Three Factor Solution of Acculturation Items (Moroccan sample)

ITEM	Pattern coefficients			Structure coefficients			Communalities
	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	
Moroccan language	.576		-.406	<b>.729</b>		-.626	.671
Social contact with Moroccans	.659			<b>.762</b>		-.501	.644
Moroccan traditional values	<b>.959</b>			<b>.921</b>			.856
Religion	<b>.946</b>			<b>.903</b>			.826
Italian traditional values		<b>.869</b>			<b>.884</b>		.794
Child rearing at the Italian way		<b>.907</b>			<b>.896</b>		.808
Italian language			<b>-.929</b>	.411		<b>-.937</b>	.887
Social contact with Italians			<b>-.935</b>	.322		<b>-.924</b>	.869

Note: major loadings for each item are highlighted in bold

The results of these analyses support my theoretical assumptions about the distinction between the two dimensions (culture maintenance/culture adaptation)

and the two domains (private/public). In fact, items in component 3 represent culture adaptation in the public domain; items that load in component 2 refer to culture adaptation in the private domain and items in component 1 measure culture maintenance. The factor analysis in both samples does not distinguish between culture maintenance in the private and in the public domain. However, I grouped the first two items (Moroccan language and Social contacts with Moroccans) in one factor since it defined the more public and utilitarian domain and separated them from the other two items (Moroccan traditional values and religion) that represent more the private domain.

All items used to measure acculturation were reduced in 4 indexes measuring each:

- Culture maintenance in the public domain
- Culture maintenance in the private domain
- Contact participation in the private domain
- Contact participation in the public domain

Indexes were then combined to create the four-acculturation strategies in the public domain and the four-acculturation strategies in the private domain. In addition to percentages, which were used in the tables, concerning the distribution of respondents across the four-acculturation strategies and the four identity patterns, the following statistical procedures were employed to address the questions of the study:

1. Regression analyses were used to test the relation between the dimensions of culture maintenance and contact participation and the dependent variables measuring intergroup relations.
2. Univariate analyses of Covariance (ANCOVA) with Helmert contrasts were performed to test the positive effect of the integration strategy and the dual identity on intergroup relations.

Results of these analyses are presented in chapter 4 (acculturation in the public and in the private domain) and in chapter 5 (identity patterns).

### 3.5 Qualitative data

Qualitative data were collected at the conclusion of the quantitative data analysis in March 2008 and between June and August 2008. They consist of in-depth interviews with ten Moroccans and ten Italians selected from the survey sample. At the end of the questionnaire respondents were asked whether they would be available to discuss in more details issues concerning their relationship with Italians/Moroccans (depending on the ethnic characteristics of the respondents) that were not covered by the questionnaire. I was aware that this request coming at the end of a long questionnaire, for which respondents did not receive any compensation, would have not assured me of many affirmative answers. Indeed, not many survey respondents agreed to be further interviewed. However, that was the only way of keeping contacts especially with those respondents that I did not meet through associations and that perhaps I would not have the chance to meet again. Among respondents who proved to be available to collaborate with the second part of the study I selected ten Italians and ten Moroccans in a way that I could have a group of people that varied in terms of gender, age, education, and, in the case of Moroccans, generation and length of stay in Italy. With respect to Italian interviewees I tried to include Italians of different ages who lived in areas with a high concentration of immigrants as well as those who live in neighbourhoods without a high concentration of immigrants. I did not expect these people to represent either the Italian and Moroccan population in Turin, or my survey sample, but simple to provide more detailed information about the relationship between Moroccans and Italians in Turin. One consideration has to be made concerning my role as a researcher. Being originally from Italy, and specifically from Turin, allowed me to get a complete understanding of the reality, since I was familiar with the context where I conducted my fieldwork and its problems also during the period before my data collection. However, I was aware that my position as an Italian researcher, who investigates attitudes of an immigrant group toward the Italian population could have been influenced my results. Indeed, the comparison of my results with other studies conducted by non-Italian researchers on the attitudes of immigrants toward Italians led me to think about whether and to what extent my nationality prevented Moroccans



from expressing honestly and openly their opinions about Italians. I specifically refer to Merrill's research (2004) conducted in Turin during the 1990s. The people she interviewed explicitly talked about Italians as racist people. Notably, she pointed out that such feelings were not uncommon among the migrant people she interviewed. It is wise to note that she collected her data at the height of the first Italian crisis over immigration when the mass arrival of immigrants and the incapability of the nation state to govern the phenomenon triggered intolerant attitudes of Italian population toward new-arrivals. Therefore, my interpretation of the absence among Moroccan people I interviewed of connotations of Italians as racist people may be partly linked to the efficacy of policies embraced by the local authorities after the riots of the 1990s and to the initiatives of the cultural and voluntary associations in support of migrants. But it could also be partly due to the fact that the Moroccans' naturalness of expressing opinions about Italians could have been influenced to some extent by my role as an Italian researcher.

### **3.5.1 Interviewees**

Several reasons pushed my Moroccan informants to leave their own country and migrate to Italy. Karim and Yussef, for example, migrated for economic reasons. They initially intended to stay temporarily in Italy and then return respectively to Salè and Khouribga, the two cities in Morocco where they were originally from. However, the difficulty of finding a stable job that could allow them good savings for a future investment in Morocco forced them to prolong their stay in Italy. After a few years they asked their families to join them and the temporary migration project turned into a permanent stay in Italy. Karim has been living in Turin for twenty years and fifteen years ago his wife and his three daughters joined him. Yussef has been living in Turin for eleven years. He migrated with his brother and a few years after his arrival in Turin he set up a bakery's in Porta Palazzo with him. Seddik has a different profile. Originally from Casablanca, Seddik has been living in Turin for fifteen years. He is married to an Italian woman and has a child. He came to Italy the first time on holiday with his father. He liked the country very much and decided to settle there. At the beginning he

did odd jobs till he obtained the recognition for his university degree. He now works as a lawyer at the Italian trade union CGIL.

Aisha and Salima are two single migrants. Aisha is a 28-year-old woman who comes from Settat. She arrived in Italy six years ago. Before settling in Turin she spent a year in Foggia, a city in Southern Italy where she completed a masters' program. She then moved to Turin to be closer to her brother who lives in a nearby city with his family. She is involved in many activities organised by cultural and intercultural associations that allowed her to establish close contacts not only with members of her ethnic group but also with host nationals. Salima is a 43-year-old woman from Hattane, a little town in the Khouribga province. She decided to migrate partly to join her brother, who was already living in Turin, and partly to gain social emancipation. She has a university degree from Morocco and she now works with her brother in a translating agency near the Moroccan consulate.

Turaya instead arrived in Italy with her two children through the family reunification procedure. She is originally from Fes and is very much attached to her heritage culture. She works as a cultural mediator in a hospital. Rachid, Malika, Fatima and Mohammed are four youths that belong to second generation Moroccans. They all arrived in Turin before the age of eleven to join their family. Rachid is a 17 years old student who attends the high school, whereas Malika, Fatima, and Mohammed are university students. Among the people I interviewed Fatima is the only one who has managed to obtain Italian citizenship.

Italian interviewees were equally divided between men and women. Giovanni is a 42-year-old man who is originally from Calabria and who moved to Turin about twenty years ago to work as a steel worker in a factory. He is married with two children. Tonino is a 62-year-old man who was born in Asti, a town near Turin. He is married with a child and works as an employee at the municipality of Turin. Tonino lives in a district that is not very populated by immigrants but he often deals with immigrants since he generally rents his two apartments in the area of Porta Palazzo to immigrants. Lorenzo is a 63-year-old man who is originally from Puglia and who has been living in Turin for forty years. He is not highly educated and works as a trader at the open market.

Lorenzo does not have many contacts with immigrants and the few occasions for interethnic contacts are limited to the work context. Davide is a policeman who lives with his wife in the district of Porta Palazzo. He is very nationalistic and a supporter of right wing political parties. He does not have contacts with immigrants although he lives in an area densely populated by immigrants. Maurizio is a 37-year-old man who is originally from Turin. He is a resident of the neighbourhood San Salvario and was one of the members of the committee for the security in San Salvario during the riots in 1995. He is married with three children and is a bank clerk. Sara is another resident of San Salvario. She is originally from Tuscany but she moved to Turin to join her husband. She has two children and is employed at the post office. She is socially active and participates in numerous activities organised by the cultural associations in the neighbourhood. Maria and Luciana are two women who live in the neighbourhood of Porta Palazzo. Maria is a 54-year-old woman who is married but who does not have children. She works with her husband in a restaurant in Porta Palazzo. Luciana is a housewife and a mother of three children. She is originally from Calabria and she moved to Turin with her husband, a Fiat worker, who is also from Calabria. Since they moved to Turin they have always lived in Porta Palazzo since they could not afford living in other areas of the town although they would like to move to more quiet neighbourhoods. Marika is a 37-year-old woman. She has a university degree in economics and works as a secretary in an insurance company. She does not have any contacts with Moroccans but she is very sensitive to migrant people. The baby sitter for her little daughter is a young woman from Peru. Finally, Anna is a teacher at a kindergarten. She was born in Sicily but moved to Turin many years ago. Although the kindergarten where she works is not located in an area densely populated by immigrants there are a few children from Romania and Peru and only recently from Morocco.

**Table 3.3 - Demographics of Moroccan interview participants**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Original city</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Years in Italy</b>	<b>Profession</b>
Karim	Salè	53	20	Customer attendant in a tv store
Yussef	Khouribga	49	11	Self-employed
Seddik	Casablanca	41	15	Lawyer
Aisha	Settat	28	6	Teacher
Salima	Hattane	43	20	Translator
Turaya	Fes	39	5	Cultural mediator
Rachid	Casablanca	17	11	Student
Malika	Fes	25	14	Student
Fatima	Rabat	27	16	Student
Mohammed	Marrakesh	25	19	Student

**Table 3.4 - Demographics of Italian interview participants**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Original city/region</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Profession</b>
Giovanni	Calabria	42	Steel worker in a factory
Tonino	Asti	62	Employer at municipality
Lorenzo	Puglia	63	Trader
Davide	Turin	32	Policeman
Maurizio	Turin	37	Bank Clerk
Sara	Tuscany	45	Employer at post office
Maria	Veneto	54	Owner of a restaurant
Luciana	Calabria	43	Housewife
Marika	Turin	37	Secretary in a company
Anna	Sicily	66	Teacher

### 3.5.2 Content of in-depth interviews

The interviews were conducted at the conclusion of the quantitative data analyses and complement results from the quantitative part of the study. By discussing thoughts of the interviewed people I assessed whether Italians who consider cultural diversity as a valuable resource for a society are also more tolerant of newcomers and more accepting than those Italians who fear cultural diversity (see guideline for the interview in the appendix). I also explored whether these negative opinions about outgroup members would affect the identification of Moroccans with the receiving community and whether Moroccans who feel discriminated against, denied equal opportunities and unwelcome are less open toward Italians and less willing to integrate in the new society than Moroccan interviewees that have not experienced discrimination in the new country. These data are expected to further support my assumption about the positive effect of cultural diversity together with the promotion of shared values on intergroup relations. Conditions based on positive intergroup relations, low levels of

prejudice and attachment to the larger society, in fact, are expected to exist in contexts where cultural diversity is promoted and valorised.

The interviews were anonymous and the names of the interviewed people were changed to guarantee the confidentiality. The interviews were very much conversational in style although most of them were taped and transcribed. Moroccan interviewees were firstly asked to talk about their life in Morocco before migrating, the characteristics of the area where they came from and the factors that motivated their decision to move to Italy. Our conversation shifted then to their first years in Turin and to the people, associations and/or organizations that helped and supported them settling. I also asked them if there were changes during their stay in Italy (for example, a new job, family reunification, moving to a different neighbourhood of the city, etc.) that have in some respect contributed to improve their relationship with and their opinions about Italians. I then asked the interviewees to talk about their relationship with Italians, and contexts in which their interactions occur more frequently. Additionally, I asked them to talk about situations, if they ever experienced any, in which they felt unaccepted, discriminated against or denied equal opportunities. I particularly referred to three contexts: housing, labour market and education. Finally, my last point concerned their future plans. I asked them what they thought about Italians and Italian culture, whether they were overall satisfied about their life in Turin and thus were happy of continuing living there or whether they were planning to go back to Morocco or to another country.

Italian interviewees were asked to talk about their opinion about immigration and immigrants in general and Moroccans in particular. Furthermore, I investigated whether these opinions were based on individual experiences and personal acquaintance or they were influenced by the media or existing stereotypes about the Moroccan community. For those Italians who manifested more hostility toward immigration and Moroccans I explored the reasons for these attitudes. Finally, I explored whether sustained contacts with Moroccans contributed to improve the relationship between them and Moroccans.

As it happens in much research about ethnic communities, I came across a key informant, a Moroccan student that I met at the University, who was of great

help during the entire fieldwork and was particularly relevant in my initial approaches to Moroccans.

### **3.5.3 Data analysis**

The unstructured interviews were transcribed and the data were grouped into categories to identify themes of interest to me. The method I followed for the interpretation of qualitative data was the thematic analyses, so I identified patterns found and I categorized the data by theme (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). For example, in the case of Italians I tried to identify some common patterns in those Italians who were opened toward immigrants and cultural diversity or, conversely, closed and more intolerant. Such analyses also help me to understand possible common explanations for intolerant behaviours. In the case of Moroccans I tried to identify some common trends in their opinions about Italians and Italians way of life. Furthermore, I wanted to see whether specific opinions about Italians could influence their process of acculturation. More specifically, I was interested in understanding whether feelings of not being accepted could affect their acculturation and identification with Italy.

Data were analysed and will be presented in the results section under the following topics:

- Italians' opinions about Moroccans. In this section I firstly described the situation in two districts in Turin, San Salvario and Borgo Dora, that are highly populated by immigrant groups and that in the past became the symbol of Italian urban conflict. This description provides the basis for a discussion about whether or not interethnic contacts can improve the quality of relationships among culturally diverse individuals. I then discussed Italians' representation of Moroccans and the factors that make Italians more tolerant or less open toward Moroccans.
- Moroccans' opinions about Italians. Factors contributing to enhance or retain their identification with the Italian community, patterns of discrimination and the aspects that they do not like about Italian culture.

### 3.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented the methods that have been applied to answer my research questions. The chapter starts by pointing out how mixed methods have been considered by many authors a distinct third methodological movement in the social sciences together with the quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Since one of the controversial aspects in the literature related to mixed methods is the nomenclature, I referred in the entire chapter to the definition as well as the typology suggested by Morse (1991). I then indicated the type of mixed method design that has been applied and the advantages in having adopted such an approach. The chapter continues with the presentation of the two types of data that have been collected: quantitative data based on a survey and qualitative data based on unstructured interviews with both Italians and Moroccans. The survey was conducted first and it was followed by in-depth interviews collected at the conclusion of the quantitative data analyses. Results of the analyses of the quantitative data will be addressed in the next two chapters, whereas findings of the unstructured interviews will be presented in chapter 6.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Acculturation in the public and in the private domain**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Among the large body of research that has applied Berry's model of acculturation there is agreement with regard to the following aspects:

- 1) Culture maintenance and culture adaptation are two independent dimensions (Ben-Shalom and Horenczyk, 2003; Ryder et al., 2000; Ward and Kennedy, 1994).
- 2) Integration is the strategy most preferred by immigrants and members of the receiving society (Berry et al., 2006; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998).
- 3) Integration is the strategy that is related to best psychological adjustment (Ward et al., 2001) and most favourable intergroup attitudes (Pfafferott and Brown, 2006; Zagefka and Brown, 2002).

Empirical findings of existing studies have also shown that acculturation attitudes do not have trait characteristics<sup>1</sup> and that there is no 'best' acculturation style

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<sup>1</sup> The trait model assumes cross-situational and cross-temporal consistency. This model does not consider the context in which acculturation occurs. For example, individuals that prefer integration are supposed to prefer this acculturation strategy in all contexts of life.



independent of context, rather it varies in different spheres of life (Birman et al., 2002). Phalet and Swyngedouw found that Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands attributed more importance to culture maintenance in the private domain, whereas they preferred adaptation to the Dutch culture more in the public domain (Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2003). Similar results were obtained in Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver's study about Turkish adults in the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003). The authors reported that the immigrant group indicated more support for culture maintenance in the private domain (child rearing and cultural habits) and for adaptation in the public domain (social contacts with Dutch people, Dutch education, speaking Dutch). While for the migrant groups the public and the private domains are parts of different social and cultural subsystems and they consequently view acculturation as a heterogeneous process, there is no such difference among host nationals (Van de Vijver and Phalet, 2004).

Although existing studies have demonstrated that the context is essential to fully understand the acculturation process, contextual features have not received much attention in acculturation research. Moreover, studies that did consider the domain specificity have limited their analyses to a description of individuals' acculturation preferences in the various domains of life. None of the existing studies has analysed the impact of acculturation attitudes in the public and in the private domain on intergroup relations. Moreover, none of the previous applications of the IAM, that is a model that combines together the acculturation orientations of both immigrants and host nationals (Bourhis et al., 1997), has distinguished between various domains of life. The distinction between the public and the private domain in immigrants and host nationals' acculturation orientations and their effect on intergroup relations constitute the underlying theme of this chapter and an original approach to the study of intergroup relations. In particular the chapter has three purposes: first, it employs Berry's fourfold acculturation model to examine the acculturation orientations in the public and in the private domain of Moroccans and Italians. Second, it explores the impact of acculturation orientations held by both groups in the public and in the private domain on intergroup relations. Finally, based on Bourhis et al.'s IAM (Bourhis et al. 1997) the chapter analyses the consequences of the agreement or

disagreement between Moroccans and Italians over their acculturation orientations on intergroup relations, again distinguishing between the public and the private domain. I argue that the valorisation of differences by the receiving population in conjunction with the adaptation of immigrants to the host culture (which in Berry's model corresponds to the integration strategy) may fuel positive intergroup relations. By distinguishing between acculturation in the public and in the private domain this chapter aims to understand whether also in the private domain the endorsement of this acculturation strategy has a positive impact on intergroup relations or whether different acculturation preferences are related to positive intergroup relations.

#### **4.1.1 Hypotheses**

On the basis of findings of previous studies I expect Moroccans to prefer the integration orientation in the public domain and the segregation orientation in the private domain (H1a). Italians' attitudes toward Moroccan acculturation orientations are analysed as well. With this respect I expect Italians to be in favour of the integration orientation both in the public and in the private domain (H1b). A further question concerns the perception each group has about the acculturation orientation preferred by the respective out-group. Previous research has found that the correspondence between the two is quite poor (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). In line with previous research I also expect little correspondence between one's own acculturation orientation and that imputed by each group to the respective out-group (H2).

The third hypothesis tests the association between acculturation orientations and intergroup relations. Most research about acculturation has traditionally focused on the consequences of the acculturation strategies for immigrants' psychological wellbeing. Recently, it has been reported that integration can have a positive effect also for intergroup relations (Pfafferott and Brown, 2006; Zagefka and Brown, 2002). In line with previous studies I expect integration in the public domain to be associated with favourable intergroup relations. Three measures are used to assess intergroup relations: perceived quality of intergroup relations, tolerance and attitudes

toward out-group (the latter is employed only for the Italian sample). Consequently, I assume that integration is associated with the positive perception of intergroup relations, tolerance and positive attitudes toward out-group, since this is the only acculturation strategies that allows immigrants to adapt to the culture of the new country without giving up their heritage culture (H3). Given the limited empirical evidence about the effect of acculturation attitudes in the private domain on intergroup relations I propose the following question:

Is there an association between acculturation in the private domain and intergroup relations? If so, what is the acculturation attitude in the private domain associated with the most favourable intergroup relations (RQ1)?

The final hypothesis concerns the impact of predictors of the IAM on intergroup relations. As suggested by Bourhis et al. (1997), intergroup relations are best predicted by the combination of immigrants and host nationals' acculturation orientations, rather than if only one group's acculturation preference is considered. Following Zagefka and Brown (2000), two types of 'fit' combination are considered. The first one refers to the predictors of the IAM. As displayed in table 4.1 the combination of immigrants and host nationals' acculturation orientations results in three possible scenarios: consensual, problematic and conflictual.

**Table 4.1.** – Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM, adapted from Bourhis et al., 1997)

Host community acculturation orientation	Immigrant acculturation orientation			
	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION	SEGREGATION	MARGINALIZATION
INTEGRATION	CONSENSUAL	PROBLEMATIC	CONFLICTUAL	PROBLEMATIC
ASSIMILATION	PROBLEMATIC	CONSENSUAL	CONFLICTUAL	PROBLEMATIC
SEGREGATION	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL
MARGINALIZATION	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL	CONFLICTUAL

Although in the original model the authors refer to the objective acculturation preferences of both groups, Zagefka and Brown obtained the predictions of the IAM by combining the preferred acculturation orientations of each group with the perception of the respective out-group's acculturation orientation. Since I agree that the perception individuals have about reality influences actual behaviour, in this chapter I use the same method to create the predictors of the IAM. I hypothesise that a good combination between the preferred and the perceived acculturation orientation (a consensual fit) is associated with most favourable intergroup relations (H4).

The second type of 'fit combination' considers the discrepancy between own strategy and the perception of the strategy preferred by the other group. I assume that less discrepancy on the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation is related to better intergroup relations (H5). Since the main interest of this chapter is to compare the public and the private domains, acculturation strategies as well as IAM predictors in both domains are considered in all analyses.

## 4.2 Method

The data to test the hypotheses come from the survey conducted in Turin on 281 respondents. As described in chapter 3 the sample consists of 136 Moroccans and 145 Italians. Data analyses proceeded in several steps and are presented in three sections. Firstly, I performed a series of T-tests to analyse significant differences between Moroccans and Italians toward the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation. I then combined the two dimensions with the mid-point split procedure<sup>2</sup> and looked at the distribution of the preferred and the perceived

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<sup>2</sup> The mid-point split procedure is a computational procedure envisaged to combine the scores on the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation in a single score. According to this procedure scale scores below the mid-point on the Likert scale are taken to indicate agreement to the scale construct measuring culture maintenance and culture adaptation, while scores above the mid-point refer to disagreement and are classified low on the scale. The two dimensions are then combined following Berry's prospect in order to obtain the four-acculturation strategies. For example, respondents who scored below the mid-point in the two dimensions (high on the scales measuring culture maintenance and culture adaptation) are in favour of both culture maintenance and culture adaptation and therefore are considered having a preference for the integration strategy.

acculturation strategies to test hypotheses 1 and 2. In the second sections a series of regression analyses were performed in order to test hypothesis 3 and research question 1. Demographic information was used as control variables and was entered in the first step of the regression analyses, while the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation were entered in the second step as main predictors. Univariate analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) with follow-up Helmert contrasts were performed to test the effect of the integration strategy in the public domain on intergroup relations and to identify the acculturation strategy in the private domain that is associated with most favourable intergroup relations. ANCOVA analyses were also used to test hypothesis 4 concerning the impact of the IAM predictors on intergroup relations. Instead, regression analyses were carried out to test the effect of the discrepancy definition of 'fit' on variables measuring intergroup relations. Before presenting the results a note about how the key concepts were measured is in order.

#### **4.2.1 Preferred and perceived acculturation attitudes**

As already mentioned in chapter 3 acculturation attitudes were measured using the two-question format, where different questions were used to assess culture maintenance and culture adaptation. The two dimensions were then combined to create the four- acculturation orientations. This approach allowed for analysing the impact of each dimension on the variables measuring intergroup relations independently as well as to combine them in a single score. Different computational procedures can be envisaged to combine the two dimensions in a single score. In this research I applied the mid-point split procedure since it has a firm theoretical basis. The only problem with this procedure is that the mid-point is an answer option (e.g. a score of 3 on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 is the midpoint) and there is no agreement in the literature as to how to resolve the ambiguity in its interpretation (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006). Since not many answers were given on score 3 (less than 15%) I decided to take out of the analyses those answers that were

given on that score. Acculturation attitudes and perception of out-group's acculturation attitudes were measured as follows:

*Attitude toward culture maintenance in the public domain*

Two items were used to measure participants' attitudes toward culture maintenance in the public domain: "I think it is important that members of my ethnic group maintain our language" and "I think it is important that members of my ethnic group in Italy have contacts with other Moroccans", for the Moroccan sample and "I think it is important that Moroccans in Italy maintain their own language" and "I think it is important that Moroccans in Italy have contacts with other Moroccans", for the Italian sample. Questions were asked on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = fully agree to 5 = fully disagree (Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) = 0.78 for Moroccans and 0.77 for Italians).

*Attitude toward culture adaptation in the public domain*

To measure attitudes toward culture adaptation in the public domain participants had to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the following items: "I think it is important that members of my ethnic group in Italy learn Italian" and "I think it is important that members of my ethnic group in Italy have contacts with Italians". The questions were rephrased to measure Italians' attitudes toward Moroccans' culture adaptation (e.g. I think it is important that Moroccans in Italy learn Italian). Low scores on these items indicate agreement with culture adaptation. The scales in both groups are reliable ( $\alpha$  = 0.88 and 0.76 for Moroccans and Italians, respectively). Language usage is one of the most widely used indicators of acculturation (e.g. Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb, 1994; Gowan and Treviño, 1998). The acquisition and usage of a new language is considered evidence that an immigrant is becoming involved in the new society. Being able to communicate in the language of the host culture is, in fact, a prerequisite to learn about it. As a good expression of cultural behaviour I decided to use in this study language to measure the degree of Moroccan adaptation in the new society.

*Attitude toward culture maintenance in the private domain*

Respondents' attitudes toward culture maintenance in the private domain were measured by asking them whether they agreed or disagreed with the following two items: "I think members of my ethnic group in Italy should maintain and practice our religion" and "I think members of my ethnic group in Italy should maintain our cultural habits and traditions" for Moroccans and "I do not mind if Moroccans in Italy maintain and practice their religion" and "I do not mind if Moroccans in Italy maintain their cultural habits and traditions" for Italians. Lower levels on these two items indicate agreement with culture maintenance in the private domain ( $\alpha = 0.91$  and  $0.88$  for Moroccans and Italians, respectively).

*Attitude toward culture adaptation in the private domain*

Culture adaptation in the private domain was assessed by asking respondents to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the two statements: "I think members of my ethnic group in Italy should adapt to Italian cultural habits and traditions" and "I think members of my ethnic group in Italy should rear their children the Italian way". The two questions were rephrased to measure Italians' attitudes toward culture adaptation in the private domain (e.g. I think Moroccans should adapt to Italian cultural habits and traditions). The scales were reliable ( $\alpha = 0.74$  for the immigrant sample and  $0.80$  for Italians).

*Perception of the out-group's attitude toward culture maintenance in the public domain*

A single item was used to measure Moroccans' perception of Italians' attitudes toward culture maintenance: "I believe Italians do not mind if members of my ethnic group maintain our language in Italy". Similarly, Italians had to express their agreement or disagreement with this item: "I believe for Moroccans it is important to maintain their own language in Italy". On this item lower values indicate more agreement.

*Perception of the out-group's attitude toward culture adaptation in the public domain*

Moroccans' perception of Italians' attitudes toward culture adaptation was assessed as follows: "I believe Italians think it is important that members of my group learn Italian" and "I believe Italians think it is important that members of my group have contacts with Italians". Italians had to indicate whether they thought it was important for Moroccans to learn Italian and have contacts with Italians. On this two-item scale lower scores indicate agreement with the statements ( $\alpha = 0.81$  for Moroccans and 0.76 for Italians).

*Perception of the out-group's attitude toward culture maintenance in the private domain*

Two questions were used to measure respondents' perception of out-group's attitudes toward culture maintenance in the private domain: "I believe Italians think it is important for members of my ethnic group to maintain and practice our religion in Italy" and "I believe Italians think it is important for members of my ethnic group to maintain our cultural habits and traditions", for Moroccans and "I believe Moroccans find it important to maintain and practice their religion" and "I believe Moroccans find it important to maintain their cultural habits and tradition", for Italians ( $\alpha = 0.90$  for Moroccans and 0.89 for Italians).

*Perception of the out-group's attitude toward culture adaptation in the private domain*

The perception of out-group's attitudes toward culture adaptation was measured with a single item: "I believe Italians think we want to rear our children the Italian way" for the migrant group and "I believe that Moroccans find it important to rear their children the Italian way", for Italians.



#### 4.2.2 Intergroup relations

Two scales were used to assess intergroup relations, which partly derived from Zagefka and Brown's measures (Zagefka and Brown, 2002): perceived quality of intergroup relations and tolerance. An additional scale was used for the Italian sample, namely attitudes toward Moroccans.

##### *Perceived quality of intergroup relations*

This scale was obtained by asking respondents to indicate their opinion about the relationship between Italians and Moroccans in general, at work and in the neighbourhood (e.g. "How good do you think the relationship between Italians and Moroccans are in general?"). Lower values on this scale indicate better perception of the quality of intergroup relations. The scale for both samples is reliable (Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) = 0.77 for Moroccans and 0.72 for Italians).

##### *Tolerance*

This scale consists of two items assessing tolerance towards having neighbours of the out-group (I would not mind having Moroccan/Italian neighbours) and toward marrying a member of the out-group (I would not be concerned about marrying – or if my children were to marry – an Italian man/woman", for Moroccans and "I would not be concerned about having Moroccan neighbours" and "I would not be concerned about marrying – or if my children were to marry – a Moroccan man/woman, for Italians). The two questions were asked on a 5-point Likert scale with 1 indicating high tolerance and 5 indicating high intolerance ( $\alpha$  = 0.76 for Moroccans and 0.79 for Italians).

##### *Attitudes toward Moroccans*

This scale was used only for the Italian sample and includes 7 items (e.g. "the presence of Moroccans enriches our society", "Moroccans represent a threat for Italian culture and traditions", "Moroccan immigrants contribute to the development of our city"). Negative items were recoded to obtain an index where lower values

indicate more positive attitudes toward Moroccans. The scale is reliable (Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) = 0.85).

### 4.3 Results

#### 4.3.1 Acculturation attitudes in the public and in the private domain

Italians and Moroccans' attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the public and in the private domain are presented in tables 4.2 and 4.3. Overall, the desire for culture maintenance in the public domain is significantly higher among Moroccans than among Italians  $t(279) = 4.82, p < .001$ , while the desire for contact participation is similar in the two groups. Similarly, the desire for culture maintenance in the private domain is significantly higher for Moroccans than for Italians  $t(279) = 7.04, p < .001$ , while there is no significant difference in scores between Italians and Moroccans for the dimension of culture adaptation in the private domain  $t(279) = .12, n.s.$

Moroccans perceive Italians' attitudes toward Moroccan culture maintenance both in the public and in the private domain to be significantly lower than their own ( $t(133) = 5.1, p < .001$  and  $t(134) = 7.31, p < .001$ , respectively) and similarly, their perception of Italians' attitudes toward Moroccan culture adaptation in the public domain is lower than their own  $t(135) = 9.7, p < .001$ . There is no significant difference between Moroccans' attitudes toward culture adaptation in the private domain and the perception they have of Italians' desire for Moroccan culture adaptation. In the Italian sample the difference between Italians' desire for Moroccan culture maintenance and their perception of Moroccans' desire for culture maintenance is not statistically significant in the public domain whereas in the private domain Italians perceive Moroccans' desire for culture maintenance to be significantly higher than their own  $t(144) = -30, p < .005$ . The opposite trend appears in the dimension of culture adaptation since the perception Italians have toward Moroccans' desire for culture adaptation is significantly lower than their own

both in the public ( $t(145) = 7.75, p < .001$ ) and in the private domain ( $t(144) = 7.48, p < .001$ ).

**Table 4.2** – Means and standard deviations of preferred and perceived attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the public domain

	MOROCCANS (N = 136)		ITALIANS (N= 145)	
	<i>Own preference</i>	<i>How they perceive Italians</i>	<i>Own preference</i>	<i>How they perceive Moroccans</i>
Culture maintenance	1.81 (.96)	2.49 (1.30)	2.37 (.97)	2.39 (1.11)
Culture adaptation	1.54 (.87)	2.51 (1.02)	1.76 (.77)	2.35 (.91)

*Note:* Culture maintenance and culture adaptation scales range from 1 to 5 (1 indicates highest level of desire)

**Table 4.3** – Means and standard deviations of preferred and perceived attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the private domain

	MOROCCANS (N = 136)		ITALIANS (N= 145)	
	<i>Own preference</i>	<i>How they perceive Italians</i>	<i>Own preference</i>	<i>How they perceive Moroccans</i>
Culture maintenance	1.65 (.93)	2.48 (1.22)	2.51 (1.10)	2.28 (.86)
Culture adaptation	2.45 (.99)	2.37 (1.09)	2.46 (.95)	3.31 (1.08)

*Note:* Culture maintenance and culture adaptation scales range from 1 to 5 (1 indicates highest level of desire)

The dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation were then combined using the mid-point split procedure. Answers below the mid-point (score 3) on the dimensions of culture maintenance were considered to be in favour of culture maintenance and answers above the mid-point were considered to be against culture maintenance. Similarly, respondents who scored below the mid-point in the scale measuring culture adaptation were considered to be high in that dimension, whereas those who scored above the mid-point were assigned to the group of those who did not want culture adaptation. Respondents who scored on the mid-point were excluded from the analysis (Rohmann et al., 2006). Following Berry's model the two dimensions were combined to obtain the four strategies. Those who scored in both dimensions below the mid-point (respondents who were in favour of both culture maintenance and culture adaptation) were classified as individuals who

preferred the integration orientation; those respondents who scored above the mid-point in both dimensions (they did not want either culture maintenance or culture adaptation) were grouped in the marginalization category; if respondents scored below the mid-point in the culture maintenance item and above the mid-point in the culture adaptation item (respondents who were in favour of culture maintenance but against culture adaptation) they were classified in favour of the segregation orientation; finally, participants scoring above the mid-point in the culture maintenance dimension and below the mid-point in the culture adaptation dimension (respondents who did not want culture maintenance and agreed on culture adaptation) were assigned to the assimilation orientation. The same approach was adopted for the perceived acculturation orientations. The distributions of the preferred and the perceived acculturation attitudes in the public and in the private domain are displayed in tables 4.4 and 4.5.

**Table 4.4** – Preferred and perceived acculturation attitudes in the public domain after the mid-point split (%)

	MOROCCANS % (N = 136)		ITALIANS % (N = 145)	
	<i>Own preference</i> N = 136	<i>How they perceive Italians</i> N = 129	<i>Own preference</i> N = 136	<i>How they perceive Moroccans</i> N = 130
Integration	86	61.2	79.4	67.7
Segregation	2.2	7	2.2	6.9
Assimilation	8.1	15.5	15.4	17.7
Marginalization	3.7	16.3	2.9	7.7

Overall, results demonstrate that respondents in both groups agree in the choice of the preferred acculturation orientation, as evinced by the fact that 86% of Moroccans and 79.4% of Italians indicate integration as their favourite acculturation orientation in the public domain. 76.8% of Moroccans and 60.7% of Italians choose the same acculturation orientation in the private domain. In addition, results indicate that there are a noteworthy percentage of respondents in both groups that are in

favour of the segregation orientation in the private domain, 15.2% and 15.6% of Moroccans and Italians, respectively. On the contrary, this acculturation orientation is the least chosen by both groups in the public domain.

In the private domain the preferences of Moroccans converge mainly on the integration and the segregation orientations with very few respondents wishing to assimilate or to marginalize. On the contrary, in the Italian sample after integration, their second choice is assimilation, with 17.8% of Italians expecting Moroccans to assimilate to the Italian culture in the private domain. Marginalization is the least preferred orientation.

**Table 4.5** – Preferred and perceived acculturation attitudes in the private domain after the mid-point split (%)

	MOROCCANS (N = 136)		ITALIANS (N = 145)	
	Own preference N = 136	How they perceive Italians N = 134	Own preference N = 145	How they perceive Moroccans N = 145
Integration	76.8	56	60.7	36
Segregation	15.2	15.2	15.6	52.8
Assimilation	4	20.8	17.8	1.6
Marginalization	4	8	5.9	9.6

The next task was to describe respondents' acculturation preferences with their perception of the respective out-group's preference. In the public domain both groups perceived integration to be the most frequent choice by out-group members and segregation the least preferred. In the private domain results show that Moroccans' perceptions of Italian favourite acculturation orientations only slightly correspond to their own choices as evinced by the fact that 20.8% of Moroccans believe Italians want them to assimilate in the private domain and that 15.2% think Italians expect them to segregate. Similarly, in the Italian sample there are important differences between their own preferences and their perception of Moroccans' acculturation attitudes in the private domain. Specifically, the majority of Italians (52.8%) believe Moroccans wish to segregate in the private domain. A lower

percentage of Italians think Moroccans are in favour of the integration strategy (36%) and only a few Italians (1.6%) think Moroccans wish to assimilate to Italian culture in the private domain. These findings indicate that Italians' perceptions are not only discordant from their own preferences but also from Moroccans' actual choices. In the following sections it is tested whether such discrepancies have an impact on intergroup relations. In synthesis, I can conclude that members of both groups have a preference for the integration orientation both in the public and in the private domain and both groups believe this is the acculturation orientation preferred by the respective out-group in the public domain. In the private domain Moroccans believe that Italians want them to assimilate, while Italians think Moroccans want to segregate.

#### **4.3.2 Acculturation attitudes in the public and in the private domain and intergroup relations**

A series of hierarchical regressions were performed to test the effect of the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation both in the public and in the private domain on intergroup relations. The tests were conducted separately for Moroccans and for Italians and for each of the dependent variables. Table 4.6 shows the results of the regression analyses for the Moroccan sample.

The first regression analysis with perceived quality of intergroup relations as dependent variable indicates that, after controlling for background characteristics, the model is overall significant ( $R^2 = .218$ ,  $F(8,112) = 3.9$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Among the main predictors only contact participation in the private domain significantly predicts the dependent variable ( $B = .25$ ,  $p < .001$ ), meaning that respondents who are in favour of culture adaptation in the private domain have a positive perception of intergroup relations. The addition of the interaction terms in the last step of the regression did not add significance to the predictions ( $R^2$  change = .022,  $F$  change (10,110) = 1.6, n.s.). The second regression analysis performed with tolerance as dependent variable indicates that, when controlling for relevant demographic information, the model is significant ( $R^2 = .165$ ,  $F(8,112) = 2.745$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Contact

participation in the public domain ( $B = .41, p < .01$ ) and contact participation in the private domain ( $B = .24, p < .05$ ) are significantly associated with tolerance, with the former one being the strongest predictor. The significant positive relation means that Moroccan respondents who are in favour of culture adaptation in the public and in the private domain are more tolerant. The inclusion of the interaction terms in the last step of the regression does not add significance to the model ( $R^2\text{-change} = .013$ ,  $F\text{-change}(10,109) = .882$ , n.s.).

**Table 4.6** – Regression analyses on perceived quality of intergroup relations and tolerance (Moroccan sample,  $N = 136$ )

DV	Positive perception of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>			Tolerance <sup>1</sup>		
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 2c
<b>Constant</b>	1.539(.315)***	1.059(.327)**	.970(.481)*	2.618(.524)***	1.859(.544)**	2.559(.795)**
Culture maintenance public domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		.010(.086)	-.063(.105)		-.105(.141)	-.226(.174)
Culture adaptation public domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		.059(.074)	.069(.075)		<b>.410(.122)**</b>	.392(.123)**
Culture maintenance private domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		-.027(.077)	-.022(.078)		-.043(.126)	-.034(.128)
Culture adaptation private domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		<b>.250(.060)***</b>	.317(.083)***		<b>.244(.098)*</b>	.174(.136)
Interaction public domain (centered)			-.056(.052)			-.106(.086)
Interaction private domain (centered)			.066(.049)			-.044(.080)
Age (years)	.013(.007)*	.011(.007)	.011(.007)	-.007(.011)	-.012(.011)	-.011(.011)
Male (0/1)	.044(.123)	.009(.122)	.016(.122)	.107(.202)	.103(.200)	.079(.201)
Education (years)	.030(.013)*	.026(.012)*	.030(.013)*	-.014(.022)	-.016(.020)	-.018(.021)
Second generation (0/1)	.325(.163)*	.115(.162)	.154(.163)	-.319(.269)	-.588(.266)	-.586(.269)*
<i>r</i> -square	.081	.218	.240	.016	.165	.178
<i>r</i> -square change	.081	.137	.022	.016	.150	.013
<i>F</i>	2.55*	3.90***	3.47**	.453	2.745**	2.368*
<i>F</i> -change	2.55*	4.90**	1.60	.453	4.974**	.882
<i>d.f.</i>	4,116	8,112	10,110	4,115	8,111	10,109

Note: All coefficients are unstandardised

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$  <sup>1</sup> Low values indicate more positive intergroup relations (more positive perception of intergroup relations and more tolerance). <sup>2</sup> Low values indicate positive attitudes towards culture maintenance and culture adaptation.

Results of the regression analyses for the Italian sample are displayed in table 4.7. In the first test none of the main predictors is significantly related to the dependent variable ‘perceived quality of intergroup relations’. A somewhat different

pattern of results is obtained for the analysis involving tolerance as a dependent variable. The predictors ‘culture maintenance in the public and in the private domain’ are significantly related to the dependent variable tolerance, indicating that Italian respondents who agree with culture maintenance in the public and in the private domain are more tolerant. After entering the interaction terms in the last step of the regression the total variance explained by the model is 50.2%,  $F(10, 132) = 13.32, p < .001$ . The two added predictors explain an additional 4.9% of the variance in the dependent variable tolerance ( $R^2\text{-change} = .049$ ,  $F\text{-change}(10, 132) = 6.46, p < .01$ ). However, only the interaction between culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the private domain yields significant relation. Thus, in order to be effective in predicting tolerance, culture maintenance should not be accompanied by culture adaptation. In other words, Italians who are in favour of culture maintenance are more tolerant only if they disagree with culture adaptation. The final regression analysis was carried out with the dependent variable ‘attitudes toward Moroccans’.

**Table 4.7** – Regression analyses on Perceived quality of intergroup relations, intolerance and attitudes toward Moroccans (Italian sample,  $N = 145$ )

DV	Positive perception of Intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>			Tolerance <sup>1</sup>			Positive attitude toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>		
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 2c	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 3c
<i>Constant</i>	3.775(.337)***	2.698(.436)***	2.779(.534)***	4.094(.585)***	.848(.629)	.214(.738)	4.739(.442)***	2.285(.437)***	2.373(.535)***
Culture maintenance public domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		.110(.069)	.086(.090)		<b>.228(.100)*</b>	.295(.124)*		.077(.069)	.048(.090)
Culture adaptation public domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		.046(.081)	.086(.090)		.053(.117)	-.017(.114)		.100(.081)	.086(.083)
Culture maintenance private domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		.094(.071)	.102(.079)		<b>.489(.103)***</b>	.624(.109)***		<b>.457(.071)***</b>	.469(.079)***
Culture adaptation private domain (1/5) <sup>2</sup>		.049(.060)	.058(.063)		-.021(.087)	.060(.087)		<b>-.120(.060)*</b>	-.108(.063)
Interaction public domain (centred)			-.029(.058)			.040(.080)			-.036(.058)
Interaction private domain (centred)			.032(.047)			.234(.065)***			.046(.047)
Age (years)	-.012(.004)**	-.009(.004)*	-.009(.004)*	-.004(.006)	.002(.005)	.002(.005)	-.006(.005)	-.003(.004)	-.003(.004)
Male (0/1)	-.140(.114)	-.151(.110)	-.156(.111)	.005(.198)	.023(.159)	.007(.154)	-.087(.149)	-.054(.111)	-.061(.111)
Education (years)	.008(.014)	.019(.015)	.016(.015)	.009(.025)	.059(.021)**	.057(.021)**	-.054(.019)**	-.005(.015)	-.009(.015)
Italian National identity (1/5)	-.057(.070)	-.017(.069)	-.008(.071)	-.522(.122)***	-.352(.100)**	-.340(.098)**	-.368(.092)***	-.222(.070)**	-.210(.071)**
<i>r-square</i>	.089	.181	.186	.123	.454	.502	.189	.572	.577
<i>r-square change</i>	.089	.092	.005	.123	.331	.049	.189	.383	.005
<i>F</i>	3.367*	3.7**	3.016**	4.823**	13.906***	13.323***	8.016***	22.354***	17.978***
<i>F change</i>	3.367*	3.763**	.411	4.823**	20.292***	6.459**	8.016***	29.961***	.775
<i>d.f.</i>	4,138	8,134	10,132	4,138	8,134	10,132	4,138	8,134	10,132

Note: All coefficients are unstandardised

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

<sup>1</sup> Low values indicate more positive intergroup relations (positive perception of intergroup relations, tolerance and positive attitudes toward Moroccans).

<sup>2</sup> Low values indicate positive attitudes towards culture maintenance and culture adaptation.



Results indicate that, after controlling for background information, the model is significant ( $R^2 = .572$ ,  $F(8, 134) = 22.35$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Culture maintenance ( $B = .457$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and culture adaptation in the private domain ( $B = -.12$ ,  $p < .05$ ) significantly predict attitudes toward Moroccans. Thus, Italians who are in favour of Moroccan culture maintenance in the private domain and Italians who disagree with Moroccans' adaptation to Italian culture in the private domain have more positive attitudes toward Moroccans. The addition of the interaction terms in the last step of the regression did not yield significance ( $R^2\text{-change} = .005$ ,  $F\text{-change}(10, 132) = .77$ , n.s.).

The analyses presented above investigated the impact of the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation on intergroup relations, separately. In order to test hypothesis 3 and research question 1 concerning the association between the four acculturation orientations and intergroup relations a series of between-groups analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) were conducted. In these tests acculturation attitudes in the public and in the private domain were used as independent variables (two categorical variables with four levels indicating the four acculturation orientations). In order to be able to carry out the aforementioned analyses new acculturation variables were created with the median-split procedure (the distribution of the acculturation orientations of the new variables are presented in the appendix A). Although this approach does not fully follow Berry's model, it is statistically more convenient since it produces a more uniform distribution of respondents in the four categories.

Separate analyses were conducted for Moroccan and Italian respondents and for each of the dependent variables. Results for the Moroccan sample show that Moroccans' perception of the quality of intergroup relations varies across the four acculturation orientations in the private domain  $F(3, 121) = 3.83$ ,  $p < .05$  (see table 4.8). Helmert contrasts show that integration in the private domain is associated with a more positive perception of intergroup relations than the other acculturation orientations. Acculturation in the public domain is not significantly associated with perceived quality of intergroup relations. The same test carried out with tolerance as

dependent variable indicates that the degree of Moroccans' tolerance varies depending on their acculturation orientation in the public  $F(3, 120) = 4.95, p < .005$  and on the acculturation orientations in the private domain  $F(3, 120) = 2.91, p < .05$ . Helmert contrasts confirmed that the level of tolerance is high when Moroccans indicate a preference for the integration orientation in the public domain whereas the level of tolerance is low if marginalization in the private domain is their choice.

**Table 4.8** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by acculturation orientations in the public and in the private domain (Moroccan sample)

	ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN										
	Integration		Segregation		Assimilation		Marginalization				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	Df	F	Helmert Contrast
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	2.28 (2.52)	.65 (.12)	2.63 (2.77)	.67 (.13)	2.64 (2.66)	.71 (.16)	2.59 (2.75)	.67 (.14)	3,121	n.s.	
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	1.81 (1.85)	1 (.18)	2.71 (2.71)	1 (.21)	1.97 (1.9)	1.03 (.26)	2.33 (2.37)	1.08 (.22)	3,120	4.95**	I<S,A,M
	ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN										
	Integration		Segregation		Assimilation		Marginalization				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	Df	F	Helmert Contrast
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	2.27 (2.42)	.65 (.12)	2.68 (2.75)	.76 (.16)	2.46 (2.48)	.58 (.11)	3.02 (3.05)	.66 (.18)	3,121	3.84*	I<S,A,M
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2 (1.89)	1.01 (.19)	2.6 (2.4)	1.35 (.26)	1.99 (1.89)	.83 (.17)	2.69 (2.66)	1.31 (.29)	3,120	2.91*	A<M

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate positive perception of intergroup relations and tolerance.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

In the Italian sample the univariate effect of acculturation attitudes on the measures for intergroup relations indicates a weak effect of acculturation in the private domain on perceived quality of intergroup relations ( $F(3,133) = 3.52, p < .05$ ) and a stronger effect on tolerance ( $F(3,133) = 7.85, p < .001$ ) and attitudes toward Moroccans ( $F(3,133) = 14, p < .001$ ). Acculturation attitudes in the public domain do not have any impact on intergroup relations. Helmert contrasts show that

integration in the private domain is associated with a positive perception of the quality of intergroup relations, but segregation in the private domain is associated with more tolerance and more positive attitudes toward Moroccans than the other acculturation orientations.

In synthesis, integration in the private domain is associated with positive perception of intergroup relations both in the Moroccan and in the Italian sample. The integration orientation in the public domain is associated also with high degree of tolerance among Moroccan respondents.

**Table 4.9** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by acculturation orientations in the public and in the private domain (Italian sample)

	ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN										
	Integration		Segregation		Assimilation		Marginalization				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	<i>Df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Helmert Contrast</i>
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	3.04 (3.15)	.62 (.10)	3.3 (3.37)	.61 (.12)	3.37 (3.33)	.61 (.13)	3.31 (3.26)	.74 (.11)	3,133	<i>n.s.</i>	
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2.36 (2.74)	.85 (.17)	2.87 (3.02)	1.17 (.19)	3.4 (3.26)	1.17 (.21)	3.19 (2.97)	1.31 (.18)	3,133	<i>n.s.</i>	
Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	2.32 (2.62)	.76 (.12)	2.83 (2.93)	.98 (.14)	3.02 (2.84)	.91 (.15)	3.12 (2.85)	.96 (.13)	3,133	<i>n.s.</i>	
	ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN										
	Integration		Segregation		Assimilation		Marginalization				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	<i>Df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Helmert Contrast</i>
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	3.02 (3.02)	.52 (.09)	3.36 (3.29)	.46 (.15)	3.38 (3.49)	.78 (.11)	3.44 (3.31)	.79 (.16)	3,133	3.52*	I<S,A,M
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2.45 (2.53)	.79 (.15)	2.21 (2.38)	1.19 (.24)	3.49 (3.48)	1.09 (.18)	3.66 (3.6)	1.41 (.26)	3,133	7.85***	S<I,A,M
Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	2.28 (2.38)	.59 (.11)	2.19 (2.32)	.81 (.17)	3.54 (3.46)	.65 (.13)	3.22 (3.08)	1.19 (.19)	3,133	14***	S<I,A,M

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate positive perception of intergroup relations, tolerance and positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

In the Italian sample acculturation in the public domain does not have any effect on the measures for intergroup relations, whereas the segregation orientation in the private domain is associated with tolerance and positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

### **4.3.3 IAM in the public and in the private domain**

The third section tests H4 concerning the effect of predictions of the IAM on intergroup relations. For this purpose new categorical variables (IAM in the public domain and IAM in the private domain) were created. The variables were computed according to Bourhis et al.'s IAM model (1997) by combining each respondent's acculturation orientation with their perception of the acculturation orientation preferred by the out-group<sup>3</sup>. For example, if an Italian respondent indicated integration as the preferred acculturation orientation and thought segregation was the orientation preferred by Moroccans he/she would be classified as conflictual. The variables 'IAM in the public domain' and 'IAM in the private domain' were used as main predictors of the ANCOVA analyses. Results of the test are reported in table 4.10 for the Moroccan sample and 4.11 for the Italian sample.

The first test carried out on the Moroccan sample with perceived quality of intergroup relations as dependent variable indicates a significant main effect of IAM in the public domain on the dependent variable  $F(2,119) = 5.75, p < .01$ . The same test was repeated with tolerance as the dependent variable. Results show that the level of tolerance among Moroccan respondents varies depending on the combination between their preferred and perceived acculturation orientations both in the public and in the private domain. Helmert contrasts confirmed that a consensual fit is associated with better intergroup relations.

A somewhat different pattern of results was obtained for the Italian sample. In fact, results of the ANCOVA analyses indicate that predictions of the IAM have an effect only on attitudes toward Moroccans and only in the public domain  $F(2, 133)$

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<sup>3</sup> The index of relative fit was created using acculturation orientations and perceived acculturation orientations determined by the median split.

= 6,  $p < .01$ . Helmert contrasts revealed that a consensual fit in the public domain is associated with most positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

**Table 4.10** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by IAM predictions in the public and in the private domain (Moroccan sample)

	IAM IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN								
	Consensual		Problematic		Conflictual				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	Df	F	Helmert Contrast
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	2.06 (2.20)	.63 (.13)	2.59 (2.62)	.56 (.12)	2.66 (2.68)	.67 (.09)	2,119	5.75**	CONS < PROBL, CONFL
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	1.63 (1.54)	.79 (.21)	1.95 (1.84)	1.08 (.19)	2.55 (2.38)	1.09 (.14)	2,118	6.91**	CONS < PROBL, CONFL
	IAM IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN								
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	Df	F	Helmert Contrast
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	2.25 (2.36)	.65 (.11)	2.51 (2.47)	.62 (.11)	2.71 (2.68)	.70 (.11)	2,119	n.s.	
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	1.79 (1.66)	.98 (.18)	2.12 (1.83)	.85 (.18)	2.57 (2.27)	1.24 (.17)	2,118	3.62*	CONS < PROBL, CONFL

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate positive perception of intergroup relations and tolerance.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

To better understand how the combination of immigrants and host nationals' acculturation orientations influences intergroup relations, further analyses were carried out with a different definition of 'relative fit', namely 'discrepancy fit' (Zagefka and Brown, 2002). The perceived out-group's desire for culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the public and in the private domain was subtracted from own desire for culture maintenance and culture adaptation. High absolute values indicate high discrepancy. The four discrepancy scores were used as predictors of the dependent variables. Inspection of the unstandardised regression coefficients for the Moroccan sample (table 4.14 in the appendix A) reveal that only discrepancy attitudes toward culture adaptation in the public domain are significantly related to perceived quality of intergroup relations ( $B = .27$ ,  $p < .001$ ,

$R^2 = .305$ ,  $F(8, 114) = 6.25$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and tolerance ( $B = .241$ ,  $p < .05$ ), meaning that less discrepancy in that dimension is associated with positive perception of intergroup relations and tolerance.

**Table 4.11** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by IAM predictions in the public and in the private domain (Italian sample)

	IAM IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN								
	Consensual		Problematic		Conflictual				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	<i>Df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Helmert Contrast</i>
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	3.09 (3.09)	.59 (.13)	3.22 (3.23)	.66 (.13)	3.28 (3.26)	.68 (.08)	2,133		<i>n.s.</i>
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2.48 (2.48)	1.03 (.22)	2.96 (2.94)	1.23 (.23)	3 (2.98)	1.18 (.13)	2,133		<i>n.s.</i>
Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	2.24 (2.28)	.82 (.16)	2.78 (2.76)	.80 (.17)	2.97 (2.92)	.95 (.10)	2,133	6**	CONS < PROBL, CONFL
	IAM IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN								
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	<i>Df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Helmert Contrast</i>
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	3.16 (3.16)	.59 (.13)	3.22 (3.23)	.66 (.13)	3.28 (3.26)	.68 (.08)	2,133		<i>n.s.</i>
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2.81 (2.81)	.99 (.14)	2.83 (2.68)	1.03 (.25)	2.99 (2.91)	1.51 (.19)	2,133		<i>n.s.</i>
Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	2.65 (2.66)	.80 (.11)	2.92 (2.62)	.88 (.19)	2.82 (2.69)	1.17 (.15)	2,133		<i>n.s.</i>

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate positive perception of intergroup relations, tolerance and positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

In the Italian sample results of the regression analyses (table 4.15 in the appendix A) show that discrepancy attitudes do not have any effect on perceived quality of intergroup relations and have an impact on Italians' degree of tolerance but only for the dimension of culture adaptation in the public domain ( $B = .26$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $R^2 = .23$ ,  $F(8, 114) = 5.13$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Additionally results indicate that discrepancies in the culture maintenance dimension both in the public and in the private domain and in the culture adaptation dimension in the private domain are associated with Italians' attitudes toward Moroccans.

#### **4.4 Conclusions**

This chapter examined the relationship between Italians and Moroccans by looking at the effects of acculturation orientations on intercultural attitudes. More specifically, I looked at the attitudes each group has toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation and the influence of these attitudes on intergroup relations. Such analyses aimed to support my assumption about the positive effect of the combination between the valorisation of cultural diversity and the promotion of common values on intergroup relations (the endorsement of the integration strategy of acculturation indicates both positive attitudes toward culture maintenance, and thus, acceptance of cultural diversity, and toward adaptation to host society cultural values and norms).

I firstly analysed the acculturation orientations of Moroccans and Italians, I then looked at the impact of these orientations on intergroup relations and finally, I examined the effect of similarity and discrepancy between Italians and Moroccans' acculturation orientations on intergroup relations. Since the main purpose of this chapter was to look at the difference between the public and the private domain all analyses were conducted by making a distinction between acculturation in the public and in the private domain.

As hypothesised and in line with previous findings integration was the acculturation orientation preferred by both Moroccans and Italians in the public domain. This preference is an indication that both groups in the public domain are in favour of multiculturalism, that is, they both positively evaluate the heritage culture and the culture of the new society, and they both actively support cultural diversity. However, in the Moroccan sample the desire for culture maintenance in the public domain was higher than in the Italian sample, while the desire for culture adaptation was quite similar in both groups. This means that for the immigrant group the maintenance of the heritage culture in the public domain is more important than for the host population that, in contrast, value more Moroccans' adaptation to Italian culture. These results suggest that the multicultural ideology, although is supported

by both groups, is endorsed more by the immigrant group than by host nationals. Additionally, results suggest that there is no distinction between the public and the private domain in Moroccans and Italians' acculturation preferences since integration is the orientation chosen by both groups also in the private domain. These findings support the idea that host nationals view acculturation as a homogeneous process with no distinction between the public and the private domain. In contrast with previous findings results indicate that also Moroccan acculturation orientations did not differ in the two domains. The items used for measuring the dimension of culture adaptation in the private domain might explain these findings. One of the two items used to measure this dimension asked respondents to rate their agreement or disagreement with the statement that "Moroccans should rear their children the Italian way". This question is concerned especially with what the expectations for the second generations are and whether people think young Moroccans, who have been socialized in Italy, should adopt more values of the Italian culture. Agreement with this statement can be viewed as an indication of a long-term migratory plan as it reflects the wish that the younger generation of Moroccans will share more similar views to Italians and will feel more part of the new society. In this respect the preference for the integration strategy in the private domain represents openness toward the receiving society without giving up their values and cultures. However, it is important to note that the choice of the integration orientation in the private and in the public domain has a different meaning. In fact, while in the public domain the acquisition of the norms and values of the new society is functional for immigrant adaptation to the life in the new society, in the private domain it reflects the real intention of becoming part of the new country.

The comparison between own acculturation attitudes and those imputed by each group to the respective out-group indicated that for both groups integration is the acculturation orientation preferred by the respective out-group in the public domain. This perception corresponds to the actual preference since both groups chose integration in the public domain. However, there is a discrepancy of perceptions regarding the acculturation orientations chosen by the respective out-group. In



particular, while 16.3% of Moroccans think Italians want them to marginalize, only 2.9% of Italians chose the marginalization orientation. Therefore, Moroccans overestimated the percentage of Italians who endorse exclusionist attitudes due probably to a perceived lack of acceptance. Similarly, 17.7% of Italians think Moroccans want to assimilate, while actually only 8.1% of Moroccans wish to assimilate. In the private domain, results indicate that there is little correspondence between the preferred and the perceived acculturation orientation, especially among Italian respondents. In fact, they overestimated Moroccans' desire for culture maintenance and perceived Moroccans' attitudes toward culture adaptation to be lower than their own. Further evidence about the lack of knowledge Italians have toward Moroccans' process of acculturation is provided by the incorrect perception Italians have about Moroccans' acculturation orientation (the majority of Italians think Moroccans wish to segregate in the private domain whereas they actually prefer to integrate). Moroccans' perceptions of the acculturation orientations preferred by Italians are quite discordant compared to their own choices as well as to Italians' actual preferences, albeit, more accurate than Italians' perceptions. The discrepancy of perceptions confirms my predictions as well as the findings of previous research. It also supports the approach taken in this study where the 'relative fit' concerning immigrant-host national acculturation preferences is created by combining the preferred and the perceived acculturation orientations. Looking at the subjective perception of out-group's preferred acculturation orientations also has important political implications. In fact, an incorrect belief about the out-group's attitudes can influence individuals' own attitudes and cause tensions between two different ethnic groups. Therefore, introducing measures that can correct incorrect beliefs might foster more harmonious relationships between the two groups. For example, improving the quality and quantity of contacts among ethno-cultural groups might create more opportunities for personal acquaintance and consequently a better knowledge about out-groups, their attitudes and their expectations.

The second aim of this study was to assess the existence of an association between acculturation attitudes and intergroup relations. I firstly tested this relationship considering the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture

adaptation both in the public and in the private domain separately. Results showed that the best picture emerged when the two groups had positive attitudes toward the out-group's culture. Thus, in the case of Moroccans it meant adapting to Italian culture and in the case of Italians it meant accepting Moroccan culture, particularly in the private domain. The dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation were then combined into the four-acculturation orientations in order to test their impact on intergroup relations. It was hypothesised (H3) that in both groups integration in the public domain would be associated with more positive intergroup relations than the other acculturation orientations. I had no predictions concerning the effect of the acculturation orientations on intergroup relations in the private domain. Results only partially supported my expectations. In fact, acculturation in the public domain was not associated with positive intergroup relations in the Italian sample, whereas on the part of the Moroccan sample it was related only to tolerance. As predicted the integration orientation was associated with more tolerance than the other acculturation orientations. Additionally, results indicated that integration in the private domain was associated with positive perceptions of intergroup relations in both groups. Acculturation in the private domain was also associated with other measures of intergroup relations (tolerance and attitudes toward Moroccans) in the Italian sample. Findings showed that segregation was related to tolerance and positive attitudes toward Moroccans, again confirming the support of Italians for cultural diversity in the private domain.

The final aim of this study was to determine and compare the effects of the various forms of 'relative fit' on intergroup relations. As illustrated Moroccan and Italian preferences for one of the four-acculturation orientations were concordant. However, their preferences only slightly corresponded with their perception of the out-group's acculturation orientation. I was interested in testing whether these discrepancies could affect intergroup relations. I used two different definitions of 'relative fit'. The first method, based on the predictions of the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997) predicted that a consensual fit was associated with better intergroup relations in both groups. However, this concept of compatibility or discrepancy between preferred and perceived acculturation strategies is predictable of intergroup relations

mainly for the public domain, since for many tests, especially in the Italian sample, IAM in the private domain was not significant.

Similarly, the second definition of relative fit, ‘the discrepancy fit’, is predictable of positive intergroup relations mainly if considering the discrepancy in the public domain. The only exception is represented by the measure ‘attitudes toward Moroccans’. High discrepancies in the dimensions of culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the private domain strongly predict negative attitudes toward Moroccans in the Italian sample. It is reasonable to think that the two groups should agree more in the public than in the private domain since this is the sphere of life where the two groups have more interactions with each other, whereas in the private domain co-ethnic contacts are more likely. Since acculturation orientations are not fixed but can change during the course of individuals’ life, it is important to introduce measures that can correct incorrect beliefs about out-groups’ acculturation attitudes in a way that there will be less discrepancy between individuals’ acculturation orientations and the perception they have about out-group’s acculturation orientations.

Although this study has provided new insights into the study of intergroup relations through the concepts of compatibility and discrepancy, some limitations should be noted. Throughout this paper I have compared acculturation in the public and in the private domain. It has emerged that the two groups examined do not differ in their acculturation orientations in the two spheres of life. However, acculturation orientations in the private and in the public domain have a different impact on intergroup relations, with the former one being a stronger predictor. The limited number of cases in the dataset did not allow the examination of the combined effect of the two domains of acculturation on intergroup relations. From these analyses I explored the main effect of acculturation strategies in the two domains on intergroup relations, but it is still unclear whether the interaction effect could produce different results. Further research should focus on this combined effect. Secondly, this study introduced the distinction between the public and the private domain in the application of the IAM following Bourhis et al.’s (1997) model. However, the combination between immigrant acculturation orientations and host national

acculturation preferences in the two domains can result in different scenarios. For example, the combination of segregation as a strategy preferred by immigrants and integration as a strategy indicated by the host nationals results in a conflictual fit according to Bourhis et al's model. But if that combination is considered in the private domain the scenario that emerges could be problematic rather than conflictual since immigrants' choice to segregate in the public and in the private domain has a different value. Thus, more research is needed to develop the understanding of the interplay between immigrant and host national acculturation orientations in the two domains.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Identity patterns**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores another aspect of immigrants' acculturation, namely ethnic identity. Broadly, ethnic identity in the psychological literature refers to an individual's sense of self and to the value and emotional significance attached to his/her membership in a particular ethnic group (Tajfel, 1981: 255). Ethnic identity has been conceptualised in multiple ways, some of which focused on the self-identification component (e.g. Taylor and Simard, 1979), others on the feelings of belonging and commitment to a group (e.g. Singh, 1977; Tzuriel and Klein, 1977) or attitudes toward one's group (e.g. Parham and Helms, 1981; Teske and Nelson, 1973). In the attempt to combine the various aspects of ethnic identity in a single measure, Phinney developed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992). This scale includes four components: self-identification, an attitudinal component "affirmation and belonging", a behavioural component "ethnic behaviours and practices", and a cognitive component "ethnic identity achievement". The first one refers to the ethnic label that individuals use for themselves (Phinney, 2003). Although categorical self-labels are an essential starting point in examining ethnic identity, they do not encompass the full range of the psychological meaning of ethnic identity. In particular they do not give an indication of the sense of belonging to the group, the attitudes toward that group, and the meaning of the ethnicity (Phinney, 1992). Therefore, a more complete understanding can be achieved by considering the feelings of belonging toward one's group, such as ethnic pride, being happy with

one's group membership, and feelings of attachment to the group (Phinney, 1992). In addition to the self-identification and the attitudinal components, ethnic identity can be assessed by looking at the changes and the development of ethnic identity. This component refers to the process of ethnic formation as well as the exploration of the factors, like meaning of one's history and traditions that lead to a secure sense of oneself as a member of a particular ethnic group (Phinney, 1989). Finally, the last component, cognitive component, looks at the involvement in the social life and cultural practices of one's ethnic group, like language usage, friendship, social organizations, religion, cultural traditions and politics (Phinney, 1992).

Compared to ethnic identity, less attention has been paid in psychological research to immigrants' identification with the new society (Phinney et al., 2001a) and most of the studies that do pay attention to this issue have been based in the United States (e.g. Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997; Waters, 1990; Rumbaut, 1994). Additionally, most of the studies carried out on ethnic identity have focused on the migrant groups' perspective but very few of them have analysed the attitudes of the receiving population toward immigrants' identification with their ethnic group and with the receiving population (e.g. Sue and Sue, 2003; Verkuyten, 2009). Finally, previous acculturation research has not made a clear distinction between the concepts of identity and culture, leading often to the erroneous conclusion that changes in the cultural repertoire of individuals, also implied changes in the identity (Phinney, 1990). Indeed the two terms are very similar and for this reason they have often been used interchangeably (Persky and Birman, 2005). However, they refer to different concepts and therefore, have to be distinguished (Phinney, 2003). While a considerable amount of research has been done on both ethnic identity and acculturation, differences between these two areas remained undefined (Leong and Chou, 1994).

The present chapter addresses these limits and focuses on the broad questions of how ethnic identity and identification with the new society are related to each other and to the variables measuring interethnic relations. I aim to demonstrate that Moroccan identification with both their ethnic group and the host community in conjunction with Italians' agreement toward this type of

Moroccan identification result in positive intergroup relations. The identification with both one's own ethnic group and the receiving society support my general assumption of this thesis that diversity and cultural heterogeneity are not damaging social cohesion but rather they may contribute to positive intergroup relations if they are well balanced by the adaptation of immigrants to the host country's culture and by the development of a sense of belonging with the new country. The support of the dual identity, in fact, allows maintaining the links with the ethnic group while at the same time developing identification with Italy. In order to prove this I firstly identified Moroccans' degree of identification with their ethnic group and with the receiving population. Secondly, I explored the attitudes of Italians toward Moroccans' identification with their ethnic group and with the receiving population. Thirdly, the chapter explores how these identities are related to the acculturation orientations of immigrants. The fourth objective was to test the association between identity patterns and intergroup relations. Additionally, the chapter explores whether cultural changes or identity changes have a stronger impact on interethnic relations. Finally, the last objective was to analyse the compatibility or discrepancy between identity patterns of Moroccans and Italians and its impact on intergroup relations.

## **5.2 Hypotheses and research questions**

### **5.2.1 Types of identification patterns**

Phinney suggested that ethnic identity, as an aspect of the acculturation process, can be studied with the same theoretical framework used to understand acculturation (Phinney, 1990). Accordingly, in order to understand ethnic identity it is necessary to consider also the relationship individuals have with members of the receiving society. A central issue is whether these two identities are dimensions that vary independently or, conversely, if they are negatively correlated, so that when one identity is high the other is necessarily weak. Several studies support the two-dimensional model (Hutnik, 1986; Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997). According to this approach individuals can have either secure and strong or undeveloped and weak identification with both their ethnic

group and members of the receiving society. A high ethnic and national identity produces an integrated (or dual) identity; identification with neither group suggests marginality; an exclusive identification with the receiving society indicates assimilation and finally, identification only with the ethnic group indicates separation (Phinney, 1990). For the Italian sample a preference for one of the four identity patterns indicates their expectations regarding Moroccans' identification. Therefore, if Italians choose the integrated identity it means that they expect Moroccans to maintain their sense of belonging with their ethnic group while at the same time feeling part of the Italian community. Studies about multiculturalism found that ethnic minority groups of various countries tend to favour multiculturalism since it offers the opportunity for individuals to maintain a positive identity as a member of his or her group while simultaneously developing a positive identity by having contacts with other cultural groups (e.g. Verkuyten, 2006; Wolsko, Park and Judd, 2006). Accordingly, I hypothesise that:

H1: Moroccans indicate an integrated or dual identity.

Most studies about ethnic and national identity have focused on the ethnic groups and have not considered the attitudes of the receiving population toward ethnic minorities' identification. Given the small amount of empirical evidence on this issue, the following research question is proposed:

RQ1: What are the attitudes and expectations of Italians toward Moroccans' ethnic identity and their identification with the Italian community?

### **5.2.2 Patterns of identity and acculturation**

Ethnic identity is a dynamic construct that evolves and changes in response to social psychological and contextual factors (Gong, 2007). According to the alternation model it is possible for an individual "to have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity" (LaFromboise et al., 1993). As Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986: 89) have argued



“individuals can participate in two different cultures by alternating their behaviours according to the situations”. Similarly, Phinney and Devich-Navarro in their study about biculturalism among African-American and Mexican-American adolescents found that students frequently defined themselves differently, depending on the situations; usually, they felt more American at school, while at home and with friends their ethnic identity was stronger (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997). Other studies have suggested a relationship between social interaction or amount of time spent with peers of the same ethnic group and ethnic identity. Alba found that social interaction with same-ethnic peers provides the opportunity to maintain and reinforce ethnic identity (Alba, 1990). In a similar fashion, Phinney and colleagues found that, across various ethnic groups, in-group peer interaction predicted ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001b). Derived from previous research my second hypothesis states that:

H2: Ethnic identity is positively related to culture maintenance in the private and in the public domain, whereas national identity is positively associated with culture adaptation in the private and in the public domain.

### **5.2.3 Patterns of identity and intergroup relations**

Much of the research on ethnic identity has focused considerably on the psychological implications of ethnic identity (e.g. Cislo, 2008; Nesdale and Mak, 2003; Phinney, 1991) and on its positive contribution to immigrants' psychological well-being, including self-esteem (Bracey, et al., 2004; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). The positive impact of group membership on self-esteem that was found in many studies can be linked to social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). In fact, according to this theory the sense of belonging that individuals have for their ethnic group and the value they attribute to their ethnic group are an important source of individuals' self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1979 – Chapter 2). Research on the role of group identity in self-esteem has largely focused on ethnic identity (Bracey, et al., 2004; Phinney, 1991). However, due to the important role played by national identity in culturally

diverse societies, research has explored the psychological implications of national identity as well (Phinney et al., 1997; Scheibe, 1983). A recent study about the relation between national identity and self-esteem among African Americans and Asian Americans showed that identification with the majority group had a significant positive relationship with self-esteem in both groups (Gong, 2007). In synthesis, I can argue that identification in two cultures can produce positive psychological outcomes, perhaps because a dual identity may be related to greater flexibility that in turn facilitates adaptation. In the present chapter I test whether the positive effect of ethnic and national identity on self-esteem can be extended also to intergroup relations. I then hypothesize that:

H3: Ethnic identity and national identity are positively related to intergroup relations in the Moroccan sample.

Furthermore, in line with the dual identity hypothesis<sup>1</sup> (Dovidio et al., 1998 and Hornsey and Hogg, 2000) I expect that:

H4: In the immigrant sample an integrated identity is associated with better intergroup relations.

The idea that acceptance and recognition of cultural diversity, known as the self-esteem argument for multiculturalism (Burnet, 1995), leads to positive self-feelings found support not only for the minority ethnic group but also for the majority population. In a comparative study between ethnic minority and majority groups in the Netherlands, Verkuyten showed that multiculturalism provides a favourable social context for positive self-esteem not only among minority group members but also among majority group members (Verkuyten, 2009). Multiculturalism can be considered the society's counterpart of individual-level acculturation strategies of integration and integrated identity (Berry 1984, 2001). As an ideology, it offers a positive view of cultural and identity maintenance by ethnic groups and, as such, a concomitant need to

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<sup>1</sup> The dual identity hypothesis posits that the combination between in-group/out-group distinctions with a super ordinate identity may produce positive intergroup attitudes and behaviours (see chapter 2).

accommodate diversity in an equitable way (Verkuyten, 2005). While there is empirical evidence for the positive effect of multiculturalism on self-esteem among the receiving population, little is known about its impact on intergroup relations and whether it differs for ethnic minority groups and the receiving population. From this I derive my research questions concerning the Italian sample:

RQ2: what is the effect of Italians' attitudes toward Moroccans' ethnic and national identity on intergroup relations? Does the acceptance and recognition by the receiving population of immigrant integrated identity lead to positive intergroup relations? (RQ3)

Finally, I compare the effect of acculturation orientations and identity patterns on intergroup relations to explore whether acculturation or identity have a stronger impact on intergroup relations. (RQ4).

#### **5.2.4 IAM and intergroup relations**

The final hypothesis concerns the concept of similarity or discrepancy between individuals' attitudes toward identification patterns and those imputed by each group to the respective out-group. The IAM developed by Bourhis and colleagues (1997) on acculturation attitudes is applied here to the types of identification patterns. The model stresses the importance of combining the perspectives of dominant and non-dominant groups and emphasises the role of the state's immigration policy. As discussed in chapter 2, Zagefka and Brown (2002) suggested that discordances between the two groups can be analysed by looking at the three fit combinations (consensual, problematic and conflictual) predicted by the IAM or alternatively considering the discrepancy between own attitudes and those imputed to the respective out-group. Both conceptualisations were supported, albeit the discrepancy definition had more predictive power (Pfafferott and Brown, 2006; Zagefka and Brown, 2002; see chapter 4). Thus, this conceptualisation is used in the present chapter on identity patterns. With this respect I expect that:

H5: In both groups less discrepancy between own type of identity pattern and that attributed to the respective out-group is associated with more favourable intergroup relations.

Before presenting the results of the analyses I will introduce the measures used for the main predictors.

### 5.3 Measures

*Ethnic identity* was assessed with three items derived from Phinney's (1992) MEIM scale. All items measured the importance attached to Moroccan ethnic background and were measured on the same five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The three items are: "I identify with my ethnic group" for Moroccan respondents and "I think Moroccans should identify themselves with their ethnic group" for Italians; "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group" and "I think Moroccans should spend time trying to find out more about their ethnic group" for the migrant and the Italian sample respectively; "I have a strong attachment toward my ethnic group" for Moroccans and "I think Moroccans should have a strong attachment to their ethnic group" for Italian respondents. Cronbach's alpha was .83 and .79 for Moroccans and Italians respectively, and a lower score indicates stronger ethnic group identification.

The *National identity* measure consists of two statements and has a reliability of  $\alpha = .80$  and  $.72$  for the Moroccan and the Italian group, respectively. The first statement is: "How strongly do you think of yourself as Italian?" and "In your opinion, how strongly should Moroccans identify themselves as Italian?", for Moroccan and Italian respondents respectively. Responses were given on a five-point scale anchored with "very strongly" and "very weakly". In the second question respondents had to indicate their agreements on a five point scale ranging from (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree to the following item: "I feel part of the Italian community" for Moroccans and "I think Moroccans should feel part of the Italian community" for Italians.

*Perceived ethnic identity* is a measure created to determine the perception each respondent had about the out-group members' attitudes toward ethnic identity. It consists of two items to which participants indicated agreement on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Typical statements were: "I believe Italians think we should identify with our ethnic group" for Moroccans and "If talking about identity, to what extent do you think Moroccans identify themselves with their ethnic group?" for Italians (for the Italian sample the scale was 1 = very strongly, 5 = very weakly); "I believe Italians think we should have a strong attachment toward our ethnic group" and "I believe Moroccans have a strong attachment toward their ethnic group" for Moroccans and Italians respectively. A low score indicates perceived high ethnic identity. The measure has a reliability of Cronbach alpha = .72 and .76 for the migrant and the majority group respectively.

*Perceived national identity* was assessed with two questions. The first item measured on a scale from 1 (very strongly) to 5 (very weakly) the perception of identification as Italians: "I believe Italians think our identification as Italians should be..." for Moroccans and "In your opinion how strongly do Moroccans identify themselves as Italians?" for the Italian sample. The second item rated on a five-point scale (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree) the sense of belonging with the Italian community: "I believe Italians think we should feel part of the Italian community" and "I think Moroccans feel part of the Italian community" for Moroccans and Italians respectively. The scale is reliable ( $\alpha$  = .72 for Moroccans and .77 for Italians) and low scores indicate perceived high national identity.

#### **5.4 Data analysis**

Descriptive analysis was conducted first to discern generational differences among Moroccans, to compare Italians and Moroccans and to examine the association between identity patterns and relevant background information like gender, age, length of stay in Italy, levels of education, and ethnic characteristics of friends. The mid point split procedure was followed to create the four identity patterns (integrated identity, segregated identity, assimilated identity, and

marginalised identity) in order to test H1 and RQ1. The second hypothesis relative to the association between ethnic and national identity, and attitudes toward culture maintenance and culture adaptation in the public and in the private domain was tested with correlation data. Hierarchical regressions, conducted for each of the dependent variables measuring intergroup relations (perceived quality of intergroup relations, tolerance and attitudes toward Moroccans), were performed to test H3 and RQ2. Control variables were entered in the first step of the regressions, ethnic and national identity were added in the second step and in the last step the centred interaction between ethnic and national identity was included in the model. Univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was performed to test H4, RQ3 and RQ4 regarding the positive impact of the integrated or dual identity on intergroup relations. In order to determine whether cultural or identification aspects of the acculturation process have a stronger impact on intergroup relations, additional analyses were conducted including in the tests acculturation in the private and in the public domain. Finally, regression analyses were used for the last hypothesis (H5).

## 5.5 Results

### 5.5.1 Descriptive results

Preliminary analyses, carried out separately for each ethnic group, showed that there was a significant difference in ethnic identity<sup>2</sup> between Moroccans and Italians, with the migrant group having a higher preference for ethnic identity than Italians,  $t(279) = 8.24, p < .001$ . However, the two groups did not differ in national identity  $t(278) = 1.71, ns$ . Table 5.1 presents the means and standard deviations of the main variables. Results suggest that Moroccans identify more strongly with their ethnic group than with the national group,  $t(135) = -6.8, p < .001$ , whereas Italians' preference regarding Moroccans' identification indicates no significant difference between ethnic and national identity,  $t(143) = -.78, ns$ .

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<sup>2</sup> Ethnic identity for the Italian sample does not indicate Italians' identification with the Italian group but rather their opinion concerning Moroccans' identification with their ethnic group. Similarly, national identification refers to Italians' view about the identification of Moroccans with the Italian group.

**Table 5.1** – Means, standard deviations (in parentheses) and *T*-test comparisons for ethnic and national identity between Moroccans and Italians

	<i>Ethnic identity</i>	<i>National identity</i>	<i>Perceived ethnic identity</i>	<i>Perceived national identity</i>
Moroccans				
N = 136	1.71 (.84)	2.42 (1.01)	2.46 (.99)	2.51 (.99)
Italians				
N = 145	2.55 (.85)	2.61 (.93)	2.12 (.84)	3.04 (1.01)
<i>T</i> -test for the two	<i>t</i> = 8.23	<i>t</i> = 1.71	/	/
groups above	<i>p</i> < .001	<i>p</i> = .08		

Note: Low values indicate high ethnic and national identity

Furthermore, results indicate that Moroccans perceive their degree of ethnic identity to be significantly higher than Italians' ethnic identity ( $t(134) = -.79, p < .001$ ), meaning that Moroccans think Italians expect them to have a lower ethnic identity than their actual identification with the Moroccan group. In contrast, there is no significant difference between national identity and perceived national identity ( $t(134) = -1.14, ns.$ ). In the Italian sample, Italians' perception of Moroccans' ethnic identity is higher than what they expect it to be ( $t(144) = 4.88, p < .001$ ), whereas the perception Italians have regarding Moroccans' national identification is lower than what they think it should be ( $t(143) = -4.85, p < .001$ ).

The significant difference in the mean values between ethnic identity and perceived ethnic identity in both groups indicates discrepancy between individuals' attitudes toward ethnic identity and their perception regarding the out-group's attitude toward ethnic identity. For the Italian sample this discrepancy occurs also in national identification. In the further analyses, presented in paragraph 5.5.6 I discuss whether this discrepancy has an impact on intergroup relations. Gender, generation, age, levels of education and length of stay in Italy did not make any difference for the ethnic and national identity in the Moroccan sample. However, friendship can influence the type of identification among Moroccans. One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) of ethnic and national identity showed significant relations between the ethnic characteristics of friends and the degree of identification with the Moroccan group and with Italians. In particular, the Bonferroni post-hoc test indicates that having many Moroccan friends can reinforce ethnic identity  $F(4, 131) = 2.59, p < .05$ , and similarly being friends with Italians can promote identification with the Italian group  $F(4, 135) = 4.61, p < .005$ .

### 5.5.2 Identification patterns

Ethnic and national identities were then combined following Berry's model of acculturation (Berry, 1997) to determine the four types of identification. The distribution of identity patterns for both groups is presented in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2** – Individual and perceived identity patterns after mid point split (%)

	MOROCCANS % (N = 136)		ITALIANS % (N = 145)	
	Own type of identity N = 134	How they perceive Italians N = 126	Own preference N = 125	How they perceive Moroccans N = 131
Integrated identity	72.4	65.9	62.4	61.8
Segregated identity	18.7	13.5	16.8	28.2
Assimilated identity	6	11.9	11.2	3.1
Marginalized identity	3	8.7	9.6	6.9

The categorization of respondents revealed that among Moroccans 72.4% had an integrated or dual identity, 18.7% a segregated identity, 6% an assimilated identity and only 3% a marginalized identity. Hypothesis 1 that predicted a strong preference among Moroccan respondents for an integrated identity is supported. Addressing research question 1, concerning Italians' expectations of Moroccans' identification, results indicate that 62.4% of Italians chose the integrated identity, meaning that they expect Moroccans to identify themselves with both groups. Predictions of the out-group's types of identification patterns are quite concordant in both groups with own type of identity as well as with the actual out-group's type of identification.

### 5.5.3 Correlation between ethnic/national identity and culture maintenance/culture adaptation in the public and in the private domain

Pearson's correlation between ethnic identity and culture maintenance in the public and in the private domain indicate a significant positive association between the two variables for Moroccan respondents ( $r = .47, p < .001$  for culture



maintenance in the public domain and  $r = .57, p < .001$  for culture maintenance in the private domain). Significant positive associations, albeit less strong than the previous ones, were also found between national identity and culture adaptation in the public ( $r = .23, p < .05$ ) and in the private domain ( $r = .33, p < .001$ ). In the Italian sample a weak significant correlation was found between ethnic identity and culture maintenance in the public ( $r = .24, p < .005$ ) and in the private domain ( $r = .31, p < .001$ ), meaning that Italian respondents who were in favour of Moroccan culture maintenance in the public and in the private domain agreed that Moroccans should identify with their ethnic group. National identity appeared to be positively related to culture adaptation in the two domains of acculturation ( $r = .30, p < .001$  for the public domain and  $r = .23, p < .05$  for the private domain). Overall, in both groups results of the bivariate correlations support my second hypothesis regarding the association between ethnic identity and culture maintenance in the private and in the public domain and between national identity and culture adaptation in the public and in the private domain.

#### **5.5.4 Predicting intergroup relations with ethnic and national identity**

Hierarchical regressions were used to test hypothesis 3 and research question 2 concerning the effect of ethnic identity and national identity on intergroup relations. The tests were conducted separately for Moroccans and for Italians and for each of the dependent variables. Control variables were entered in Step 1 of the hierarchical regression, then I added the main predictors, ethnic and national identity, and finally, in the last step, I entered the centred product term between the two variables (table 5.3).

Regression analysis for the Moroccan sample shows that, after controlling for relevant background characteristics, only national identification has a positive relationship with perceived quality of intergroup relations,  $B = .14, p < .05, F(6, 116) = 2.44, p < .05$ . Thus, high degree of national identity is related to positive perception of intergroup relations. Ethnic identity is not related to perceived quality of intergroup relations. The inclusion of the interaction term does not account for the additional percentage of variance in the dependent variable. The second regression analysis was used to predict tolerance. The model in the first

step, when only control variables are considered, is not significant ( $F(4, 118) = .76$ , ns.). In the second step the main predictors were brought in. The model explains 38% of the variance in tolerance and the two added predictors accounted for an additional 36% of the variance in the dependent variable. National identification is a significant positive predictor of tolerance ( $B = .68$ ,  $p < .001$ ), whereas ethnic identity does not have any significant effect. Thus, high identifiers with the national group are more tolerant.

**Table 5.3** – Hierarchical regression analysis results for predicting perceived quality of intergroup relations and intolerance. Moroccan sample ( $N = 136$ )

	Positive perception of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>			Tolerance <sup>1</sup>		
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 2c
<i>Constant</i>	1.57(.32)***	1.21(.37)**	1.66(.48)**	2.72(.52)***	.98(.49)*	.92(.64)
Ethnic identity <sup>2</sup>		-.01(.07)	-.05(.07)		-.00(.09)	.00(.10)
National identity <sup>2</sup>		<b>.14(.06)*</b>	.01(.11)		<b>.66(.08)***</b>	.68(.15)***
Interaction (centred)			-.10(.07)			.01(.09)
Male (0/1)	-.03(.12)	-.07(.12)	-.07(.12)	.14(.20)	-.06(.17)	-.06(.17)
Age (years)	.01(.01)	.01(.01)	.01(.01)	-.01(.01)	-.00(.01)	-.00(.01)
Education (years)	.03(.01)*	.03(.01)*	.03(.01)**	-.02(.02)	-.01(.02)	-.01(.02)
2 Generation (0/1)	.23(.16)	.26(.16)	.29(.16)	-.42(.27)	-.28(.22)	-.29(.22)
<i>r-square</i>	.07	.11	.13	.02	.38	.38
<i>r-square change</i>	.07	.04	.02	.02	.36	.00
<i>F</i>	2.23	2.44*	2.41*	.76	11.89***	10.11***
<i>F-change</i>	2.23	2.73	2.07	.76	33.28***	.02
<i>d.f.</i>	4,118	6,116	7,115	4,118	6,116	7,115

Note: All coefficients are unstandardised

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

<sup>1</sup> Low values indicate more positive intergroup relations (more positive perception of intergroup relations and more tolerance).

<sup>2</sup> Low values indicate higher ethnic and national identity.

For the Italian sample, patterns of results resembled partly those of the Moroccan group (Table 5.4 presents the regression results). Ethnic identity and national identity are positively related to all measures of intergroup relations. The first model, with the main predictors controlled for the background information, explains 18% of the variance in perceived quality of intergroup relations. Ethnic identity and national identity significantly predict perceived quality of intergroup relations ( $B = .16$ ,  $p < .05$ , for ethnic identity and  $B = .13$ ,  $p < .05$ , for national identity). The third step when the interaction term was introduced did not add significantly to the prediction,  $R^2$ -change = .02,  $F$ -change (7, 134) = 3.6, ns. The

second model at step 2 with control variables and identification variables predicting tolerance explains 29% of the variance in the dependent variable, tolerance  $F(6, 135) = 9.28, p < .001$ . Ethnic and national identities are significantly related to tolerance ( $B = .40, p < .001$ , for ethnic identity and  $B = .31, p < .001$ , for national identity). The interaction term entered in the third step did not account for additional variance in the dependent variable,  $R^2$ -change = .01,  $F$ -change  $(7, 134) = 1.46, ns$ . The same model was used to predict attitudes toward Moroccans. At step 2 when the main predictors are controlled for relevant background information the model explains 42% of the variance in the dependent variable. As in the previous tests ethnic and national identity are positively related to positive attitudes toward Moroccans ( $B = .43, p < .001$ , for ethnic identity and  $B = .19, p < .05$ , for national identity), with the former one having a stronger impact. The interaction between ethnic and national identity at step 3 did not account for significance,  $R^2$ -change = .00,  $F$ -change  $(7, 134) = 0.1, ns$ . Thus, a stronger endorsement of Moroccan ethnic identity and national identity are related to a more positive perception of intergroup relations, more tolerance and more positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

The previous tests indicate that hypothesis 3 and research question 2 concerning the effect of ethnic and national identity on intergroup relations are supported in the Italian sample and partially confirmed in the Moroccan sample. Ethnic identity and national identity have been analysed independently for their impact on intergroup relations. However, in order to prove that the integrated or dual identity is related to better intergroup relations further analyses have been conducted whose results are presented in the following section.



**Table 5.4** – Hierarchical regression analysis results for predicting perceived quality of intergroup relations, intolerance and attitudes toward Moroccans. Italian sample (N = 145)

	Positive perception of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>			Tolerance <sup>1</sup>			Positive attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>		
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 2c	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 3c
<i>Constant</i>	3.77(.34)***	2.69(.43)***	2.63(.43)***	4.09(.59)***	1.49(.71)*	1.43(.71)*	4.74(.44)***	2.53(.51)***	2.53(.51)***
Ethnic identity <sup>2</sup>		<b>.16(.06)*</b>	.15(.06)*		<b>.40(.11)***</b>	.39(.11)***		<b>.43(.08)***</b>	.43(.08)***
National identity <sup>2</sup>		<b>.13(.06)*</b>	.16(.06)*		<b>.31(.10)**</b>	.38(.10)**		<b>.19(.07)**</b>	.19(.07)*
Interaction (centred)			.10(.05)			.11(.09)			.00(.07)
Age (years)	-.01(.00)**	-.01(.00)*	-.01(.00)*	-.00(.01)	.00(.01)	.00(.01)	-.01(.00)	.00(.00)	.00(.00)
Male (0/1)	-.14(.11)	-.10(.11)	-.09(.11)	.00(.20)	.08(.18)	.10(.18)	-.09(.15)	-.04(.13)	-.04(.13)
Education (years)	.01(.01)	.01(.01)	.01(.01)	.01(.02)	.03(.02)	.02(.02)	-.05(.02)**	-.04(.02)*	-.04(.02)*
Italian nationalism	-.06(.07)	-.03(.07)	-.02(.07)	-.52(.12)***	-.47(.12)***	-.46(.02)***	-.37(.09)***	-.36(.08)***	-.35(.08)***
<i>r-square</i>	.09	.18	.20	.12	.29	.30	.19	.41	.41
<i>r-square change</i>	.09	.09	.02	.12	.17	.01	.19	.22	.00
<i>F</i>	3.34*	4.91***	4.81***	4.79**	9.28***	8.19***	7.96***	15.63***	13.3***
<i>F-change</i>	3.34*	7.43**	3.6	4.79**	16.14***	1.46	7.96***	25.33***	.01
<i>d.f.</i>	4, 137	6, 135	7, 134	4, 137	6, 135	7, 134	4, 137	6, 135	7, 134

Note: All coefficients are unstandardised

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

<sup>1</sup> Low values indicate more positive intergroup relations (positive perception of intergroup relations, tolerance and positive attitudes toward Moroccans)

<sup>2</sup> Low values indicate higher ethnic and national identity.

### 5.5.5 Testing the impact of the integrated identity on intergroup relations

Hypothesis 4 predicts that the four identity patterns have a different effect on intergroup relations, with integrated identity leading to more positive intergroup relations than other identity patterns. In order to carry out further analyses the four identity patterns were re-categorised using the median split method. The more even distribution of the new identification variable is shown at table 5.5.

**Table 5.5** – Individual and perceived identity patterns after median split

	MOROCCANS (%) (N = 136)		ITALIANS (%) (N = 145)	
	Own type of identity N = 136	How they perceive Italians N = 135	Own preference N = 144	How they perceive Moroccans N = 145
Integrated identity	53.7	61.5	54.2	40
Segregated identity	11.8	14.8	18.1	21.4
Assimilated identity	24.3	13.3	16	20.7
Marginalized identity	10.3	10.4	11.8	17.9

This new variable was used as a between-subject factor in the univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with perceived quality of intergroup relations, tolerance and attitudes toward Moroccans as dependent variables. Separate analyses were conducted for Moroccan and Italian respondents and for each of the dependent variables. Results for the Moroccan sample show that respondents' perception of the quality of intergroup relations does not vary significantly across the four types of identity (see Table 5.6). The same test carried out with tolerance as a dependent variable indicates a significant difference in respondents' degree of tolerance in relation to the type of identification  $F(3, 121) = 15.51, p < .001$ . Helmert contrast confirmed that respondents with an integrated identity are more tolerant than Moroccans having different types of identification.

In the Italian sample, the univariate effect of identity patterns on the measures for intergroup relations show a significant effect on tolerance  $F(3, 142) = 12.36, p < .001$ ; on attitudes toward Moroccans  $F(3, 142) = 12.57, p < .001$  and a weak effect on perceived quality of intergroup relations  $F(3, 142) = 4.94, p < .01$ . Helmert contrast revealed that Italians who think Moroccans should

identify with both their ethnic group and the national group are more tolerant and have more positive attitudes toward Moroccans than those Italians who are in favour of other types of identifications.

**Table 5.6** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by patterns of identity for Moroccans

	IDENTITY PATTERNS										
	Integrated		Segregated		Assimilated		Marginalized				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	Df	F	Helmert Contrast
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	2.38 (2.47)	.7 (.09)	2.69 (2.81)	.77 (.18)	2.58 (2.63)	.55 (.12)	2.59 (2.67)	.68 (.19)	3,122	ns	
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	1.82 (1.75)	.79 (.13)	3.47 (3.43)	1.19 (.26)	1.97 (1.94)	.79 (.17)	2.92 (2.88)	1.38 (.27)	3,121	15.51***	I<S,A,M

Note: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate more positive perception of intergroup relations and more tolerance.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

**Table 5.7** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by patterns of identity for Italians

	IDENTITY PATTERNS										
	Integrated		Segregated		Assimilated		Marginalized				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	Df	F	Helmert Contrast
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	3.13 (3.14)	.57 (.07)	3.31 (3.27)	.75 (.12)	3.04 (3.05)	.56 (.13)	3.82 (3.75)	.71 (.15)	3,142	4.94**	I<S,M
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2.53 (2.57)	.88 (.12)	3.17 (3.09)	1.3 (.20)	2.8 (2.84)	.98 (.21)	4.12 (4.21)	1.4 (.25)	3,142	12.36***	I<A,S,M
Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	2.41 (2.46)	.71 (.09)	2.96 (2.87)	1.02 (.15)	2.99 (2.94)	.78 (.16)	3.67 (3.69)	1.05 (.19)	3,142	12.57***	I<A,S,M

Note: \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate more positive perception of intergroup relations, more tolerance and more positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

In synthesis, these results partially support Hypothesis 4 in the Moroccan sample showing that respondents with an integrated identity report higher tolerance than those with a segregated or assimilated or marginalized identity. Similarly, Italians reported more tolerance and more positive attitudes toward Moroccans when they support the integrated identity.

Further univariate analyses of variance for each ethnic group were conducted to compare the effect of cultural and identification aspects of the acculturation process on intergroup relations. Results are reported in table 5.8 for the Moroccan sample and in table 5.9 for the Italian sample. Among Moroccans, ANCOVA by type of identification and acculturation strategies show a significant, although weak relationship between acculturation in the private domain and perceived quality of intergroup relations  $F(3, 121) = 3.28, p < .05$ ; individuals who prefer the integration strategy in the private domain have more positive attitudes than do individuals with other acculturation attitudes. The variables ‘acculturation in the public domain’ and ‘identity patterns’ are not significantly related to perceived quality of intergroup relations (see Table 5.8).

**Table 5.8** – Means and Standard Deviations for Moroccans by Acculturation and Identification

			Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	<i>p</i>	Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	<i>p</i>
Patterns of identity	Integrated	M	2.38 (2.63)		1.82 (1.87)	
		SD (SE)	.71 (.10)		.79 (.14)	
	Segregated	M	2.67 (2.78)		3.43 (3.37)	
		SD (SE)	.79 (.19)		1.22 (.27)	
	Assimilated	M	2.58 (2.73)		1.97 (1.98)	
		SD (SE)	.55 (.13)		.79 (.18)	
	Marginalized	M	2.59 (2.62)		2.92 (2.79)	
		SD (SE)	.68 (.18)	ns	1.38 (.26)	<.001
Acculturation strategies in the public domain	Integrated	M	2.28 (2.54)		1.81 (2.20)	
		SD (SE)	.65 (.13)		1 (.18)	
	Segregated	M	2.63 (2.78)		2.71 (3)	
		SD (SE)	.67 (.14)		1 (.19)	
	Assimilated	M	2.64 (2.66)		1.97 (2.26)	
		SD (SE)	.71 (.17)		1.04 (.24)	
	Marginalized	M	2.59 (2.78)		2.33 (2.56)	
		SD (SE)	.67 (.15)	ns	1.08 (.20)	<.01
Acculturation strategies in the private domain	Integrated	M	2.27 (2.45)		2 (2.29)	
		SD (SE)	.65 (.14)		1.02 (.19)	
	Segregated	M	2.78 (2.76)		2.60 (2.40)	
		SD (SE)	.76 (.17)		1.35 (.23)	
	Assimilated	M	2.46 (2.49)		1.99 (2.44)	
		SD (SE)	.58 (.13)		.83 (.18)	
	Marginalized	M	3.02 (3.06)		2.69 (2.89)	
		SD (SE)	.66 (.19)	<.05	1.31 (.26)	ns

Note: <sup>1</sup>Lower scores indicate more positive perception of intergroup relations and more tolerance.



The second ANCOVA showed that among Moroccans the degree of tolerance differed significantly depending on the type of identity  $F(3, 120) = 10.94, p < .001$  and to a less extent on the preferred acculturation strategy in the public domain  $F(3, 120) = 4.89, p < .01$ . Thus, the integrated identity is the strongest predictor for tolerance among Moroccan respondents.

For the Italian sample (table 5.9), ANCOVA shows that the perception of intergroup relations is weakly associated with acculturation in the private domain  $F(3, 132) = 3.25, p < .05$  and with patterns of identity  $F(3, 132) = 2.69, p < .05$ , while there is no association with acculturation in the public domain  $F(3, 132) = .46, ns$ .

**Table 5.9 – Means and Standard Deviations for Italians by Acculturation and Identification**

			Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	<i>p</i>	Inolerance <sup>1</sup>	<i>p</i>	Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	<i>p</i>
Patterns of identity	Integrated	M	3.1 (3.17)		2.49 (2.64)		2.39 (2.52)	
		SD (SE)	.55 (.08)		.87 (.13)		.71 (.09)	
	Segregated	M	3.32 (3.3)		3.14 (3.06)		2.93 (2.8)	
		SD (SE)	.78 (.13)		1.35 (.20)		1.05 (.14)	
	Assimilated	M	3.08 (3.19)		2.84 (3.12)		2.98 (3.11)	
		SD (SE)	.53 (.14)		.99 (.21)		.8 (.15)	
	Marginalized	M	3.83 (3.7)		4.06 (3.91)		3.69 (3.46)	
		SD (SE)	.73 (.16)		1.42 (.25)		1.08 (.18)	
				<.05		<.001		<.001
Acculturation strategies in the public domain	Integrated	M	3.04 (3.28)		2.36 (3.06)		2.32 (2.85)	
		SD (SE)	.62 (.11)		.85 (.18)		.76 (.12)	
	Segregated	M	3.3 (3.4)		2.87 (3.13)		2.83 (3.05)	
		SD (SE)	.61 (.12)		1.17 (.18)		.98 (.13)	
	Assimilated	M	3.39 (3.41)		3.39 (3.46)		3.20 (3.02)	
		SD (SE)	.62 (.13)		1.2 (.21)		.93 (.15)	
	Marginalized	M	3.31 (3.28)		3.19 (3.09)		3.12 (2.96)	
		SD (SE)	.74 (.11)		1.31 (.18)		.96 (.12)	
				ns		ns		ns
Acculturation strategies in the private domain	Integrated	M	3.02 (3.13)		(2.84)		2.28 (2.62)	
		SD (SE)	.52 (.1)		(.15)		.59 (.11)	
	Segregated	M	3.36 (3.37)		(2.62)		2.19 (2.5)	
		SD (SE)	.46 (.15)		(.23)		.81 (.16)	
	Assimilated	M	3.39 (3.58)		(3.68)		3.55 (3.63)	
		SD (SE)	.79 (.11)		(.18)		.65 (.12)	
	Marginalized	M	3.44 (3.27)		(3.6)		3.22 (3.13)	
		SD (SE)	.79 (.16)		(.25)		1.19 (.18)	
				<.05		<.01		<.001

Note: <sup>1</sup>Lower scores indicate more positive perception of intergroup relations, more tolerance and more positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

The test carried out with tolerance as a dependent variable indicates that the degree of tolerance among Italian respondents varies depending on the type of identification  $F(3, 132) = 7, p < .001$  and, to a less extent, on the acculturation attitudes in the private domain  $F(3, 132) = 6.07, p < .01$ . Like in the Moroccan sample, the endorsement of an integrated identity has a strongest impact on tolerance. The same results are found when analysing the mean differences in attitudes toward Moroccans. Results show a significant difference in Italian attitudes toward Moroccans among the types of identification  $F(3, 132) = 9.92, p < .001$ , and acculturation strategies in the private domain  $F(3, 132) = 14.09, p < .001$ . The integrated identity and segregated attitudes in the private domain produce more positive attitudes toward the out-group among Italians.

#### **5.5.6 Predicting intergroup relations with discrepancies in identification patterns**

Table 5.1 shows discrepancies in both samples between individual's identity patterns and perceived out-group's identity patterns. Hierarchical regressions were run to examine whether less discrepancy in identification patterns leads to better intergroup relations, as stated by Hypothesis 5, or whether there is no effect on intergroup relations.

Regression analyses for Moroccan respondents show that discrepancies in the ethnic and national identity dimensions have no impact on perceived quality of intergroup relations,  $R^2 = .09, F(6, 116) = 2.23, ns$  and tolerance,  $R^2\text{-change} = .05, F\text{-change}(6, 116) = 1.07, ns$ . Thus, hypothesis 6 for Moroccans is not confirmed. For Italians, however, discrepancy between ethnic identity and perceived ethnic identity is significantly related to perceived quality of intergroup relations,  $B = .2, p < .01, (R^2 = .15, F(6, 135) = 3.87, p < .01)$ ; tolerance  $B = .34, p < .01, (R^2 = .18, F(6, 135) = 4.9, p < .001)$  and attitudes toward Moroccans  $B = .33, p < .001 (R = .28, F(6, 135) = 8.72, p < .001)$ . Thus, less discordance between Italians' support of Moroccans' ethnic identity (how Italians think Moroccans' ethnic identity should be) and Italians' opinion about Moroccans' ethnic identity (how Italians think ethnic identity of Moroccans is) is related to positive perception of intergroup relations, tolerance and positive

attitudes toward Moroccans. Discrepancy in the national identity dimension has no impact on intergroup relations for both groups.

Additional regression analyses were carried out for both groups including in the list of the main predictors variables measuring the discrepancies in the culture maintenance and culture adaptation dimensions. Results for Moroccan respondents show that, controlling for background information, discrepancy between Moroccans' attitudes toward culture adaptation in the public domain and what they perceive are Italians' attitudes toward culture adaptation in the public domain influence Moroccan's perception of intergroup relations,  $B = .27$ ,  $p < .001$ , ( $R^2 = .3$ ,  $F(10, 122) = 4.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ). None of the predictors is significant when examining tolerance.

In the Italian sample, controlling for background information and discrepancies in the acculturation attitudes, discrepancy in ethnic identity maintained a significant positive effect on perceived quality of intergroup relations, tolerance and attitudes toward Moroccans.

## 5.6 Conclusions

This chapter examined the impact of ethnic and national identity on intergroup relations from the perspective of the migrant group and the receiving population. The acculturation framework for studying ethnic identity suggests that to better understand the identity of migrant group members it is necessary to consider also their identification with the receiving society (Phinney, 1990). Theorizations and empirical research have promoted and supported the bidimensional model between ethnic and national identity. The acculturation literature, where this model has been largely employed, has shown that across countries and ethnic groups immigrants prefer integration, that is, maintaining their heritage culture while at the same time adopting the culture of the new society (e.g. Berry et al., 1989; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka and Brown, 2002). With reference to immigrants' identity the equivalent concept is having an integrated or dual identity: identifying and feeling part at the same time of an ethnic group and part of the larger society (Phinney et al., 2001). Although among Moroccans ethnic identity was stronger in comparison with their identification with Italian society,

integration was the dominant identity pattern (H1). In fact, nearly 73% of Moroccan respondents considered themselves to have an integrated identity. As argued by Phinney and Devich-Navarro ‘different models of biculturalism can be represented in terms of the individual’s position with respect to the two cultures’ (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997: 7). The first one, using Birman’s terminology, can be called *a blended bicultural*, where the new identity is a combination and synthesis of both ethnic and national identity (Birman, 1994). The second one can be referred to as the *alternation model* (LaFromboise et al., 1993), which supposes that an individual can alter his or her behaviour to fit a particular social context or situation. I assumed that when Moroccans have to deal with their culture of origins both in the public and in the private domain (social contacts with co-ethnics, use of the Moroccan language, religion) they feel part of their ethnic group, whereas when Moroccans have to deal with the culture of the new society (social contacts with Italians, Italian language and Italians traditional habits) the national identity would be stronger. Statistically this means that I expected on one hand an association between ethnic identity and culture maintenance in the private and in the public domain and on the other hand I hypothesised a positive relationship between national identity and culture adaptation in both domains (H2). Consistent with my predictions as well as with the alternation model I found significant positive relations in both situations.

Having an integrated identity also implies becoming part of the receiving society. Yet the latter will be hampered if immigrants experience discrimination or meet rejection by the receiving population in their attempt toward inclusion. Situations that force immigrants to live excluded from the rest of the society, as in the case of ghettos, are unlikely to see immigrants becoming part of the host society. If, on the contrary, they feel accepted newcomers will have the chance of developing attachment with the receiving society (Phinney et al., 2001). Obviously societies need to find a balance between encouraging culture maintenance and promoting adaptation to the new culture. This can be achieved by considering the attitudes of immigrants but also by taking into account the preferences and the expectations of the receiving population. In the previous chapter my research demonstrated that integration is the acculturation strategy preferred by both Moroccans and Italians in the public and in the private domain.

In this chapter I focused on a different but complementary aspect of the acculturation process: identity. In the acculturation literature this concept has often been used interchangeably with that of culture as if changes in the cultural aspects necessarily implied changes in identity. In this research I made a distinction between these two concepts and investigated them separately. Moreover, existing studies about identity have mostly broached the issue from the immigrants' perspective, while opinions about bicultural identities on the part of the host population have been neglected. As I showed in the previous chapter the perspective of the receiving population concerning immigrants' adaptation in the new country also plays a relevant role and needs to complement that of the immigrant group. In the present chapter I analysed Italians' expectations regarding Moroccans' identification with their ethnic group (ethnic identity) and with the Italian group (national identity). In the analyses that have been carried out I also included the variable 'nationalism' as a control factor. This is clearly a different concept from the previous two since it reflects Italians' feelings about Italian culture. High nationalism was generally related to more intolerance and more negative attitudes toward Moroccans. As will be shown in more detail in the next chapter the fear that Moroccans may represent a threat for Italian national identity and culture is one of the strongest motives that explain Italian negative attitudes toward Moroccans. Such feelings are definitely stronger among those Italians who have a strong national identity and who refuse the idea of Italy as a multicultural country than those Italians who consider cultural diversity as a factor that can enrich Italian society.

The preference of Italians regarding Moroccans' ethnic or national identity did not show any statistically significant difference, reflected by the not significant *T*-test. However, when the two dimensions were categorised into the four identity patterns (integrated or bicultural identity, separated, assimilated and marginalized) results indicated that about 63% of Italians expected Moroccans to identify with their ethnic group and at the same time feeling part of the Italian community (integrated identity; RQ1). As in the Moroccan sample their preference for ethnic identity was associated with positive attitudes toward culture maintenance in the public and in the private domain. Similarly, as

predicted, national identity was related to positive attitudes toward culture adaptation in both domains (H2).

Of greatest practical importance, especially for its political relevance, was the question of how ethnic and national identity and the derived identity categories are related to intergroup relations. Positive effects of ethnic and national identity on intergroup relations suggest the importance of considering policies that value and appreciate ethnic diversity and that try to accommodate diversity in an equitable way. Research on ethnic identity has generally focused on the effect of ethnic and national identity on the psychological well-being of immigrants (Bracey, et al., 2004; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002), but, as I argued in chapter 2 little is known about their effect on intergroup relations and whether this effect is different for ethnic minority groups and the receiving population. In this study I explored whether a good balance between the maintenance of Moroccan ethnic identity and the development of a shared sense of nationhood with the receiving society contributes to achieving positive intergroup relations. My results revealed that for the Moroccan sample only national identity was related to the two measures of intergroup relations. Thus, Moroccans with a strong identification with the larger society have a more positive perception of intergroup relations and are more tolerant compared to those with a weaker national identity (H3). In contrast, among Italian respondents, although both ethnic and national identities were positively associated with intergroup relations, the former had a stronger impact. Thus, Italians who support the identification of Moroccans with their ethnic group perceive the relationship with the migrant group positively, are more tolerant and have more positive attitudes toward Moroccans than lower identifiers (RQ2). It is interesting to note that the dimensions of ethnic and national identity indicated a differential relation pattern with the outcome variables: while for immigrants national identity is related to the key indicators of intergroup relations, ethnic identity is most strongly related to the dependent variables among Italian respondents. Therefore, I can conclude that both identities are important and need to be measured separately.

Furthermore, my study hypothesised that an integrated or dual identity would generally be associated with more favourable intergroup relations than the other identity categories. This hypothesis was partially supported in both groups.

Consistent with the prediction, the integrated identity was associated with tolerance among Moroccan respondents (H4). However, no relationship was found with the other measure for intergroup relations. Similarly, Italians who were in favour of Moroccans' integrated identity were more tolerant and had more positive attitudes toward Moroccans than did Italians with other identity preferences (RQ3). In order to test the impact of the four identity patterns on intergroup relations a new variable was created adopting the median split procedure. Although the new variable produced a more even distribution across the categories, it did not reflect the same order of preferences for the four identity patterns as the variable determined by the mid-point split. In fact, while integration was still the distinctly preferred type of identity in both groups, with the new categorization the assimilated identity became the second choice among Moroccan respondents. This result can be imputed to the way the new variable was computed, whose categories identify identity patterns that may deviate from the actual preferences of the respondents. Obviously, when analysing the effect of the type of identities on intergroup relations the different categorization of the variable influenced the pattern of results. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 in the Appendix B report the results of the ANCOVAs carried out with the identity variable determined with the mid-point split. While no differences occurred for the Italian sample, among Moroccan respondents results showed that assimilated identity, rather than integrated identity, was associated with more tolerance. Theoretically, the mid-point split method is more correct as it permits the faithful reproduction of Berry's model. However, since the levels of the variables created with this procedure are usually uneven, statistically it is not reliable. For this reason I trust more the results obtained with the variable established by median split.

As established in chapter 2, ethnic and national identities are a salient part of the acculturation process. As such they have been analysed as a separate construct from acculturation. To determine what aspect of the acculturation process has a stronger impact on intergroup relations, additional analyses were conducted including as predictors both acculturation attitudes and identification patterns. In both groups identity patterns had a stronger impact on tolerance, while a weak relationship was found between acculturation in the private domain and perceived quality of intergroup relations. These results suggest that although

the acquisition of cultural aspects of the new society without giving up the heritage culture is important in order to prevent a conflictual intergroup relationship, the development of an integrated identity among Moroccans has the strongest effect on positive intergroup relations. Thus, changes in identity have a stronger impact on intergroup relations than cultural changes, indicating that positive intergroup relations cannot be achieved only by immigrants' acquisition of cultural traits of the new country. They should also develop a sense of belonging and attachment with the new community without giving up the identification with their ethnic group.

Discrepancy attitudes were found between individual's identity patterns and perceived out-group's identity patterns. Among Moroccan respondents this discordance occurred only in the ethnic identity dimension, whereas a non-significant *T*-test was found in the national identity dimension. For Italians, discordances were found for both identifications. In particular, host nationals overestimated Moroccans' identification with their ethnic group and underestimated their national identity. It was hypothesised (H5) that these discrepancies would be related to the variables measuring intergroup relations. Results that tested the association between discrepancies in the ethnic and national identity dimensions and variables measuring intergroup relations were not very supportive. No significant relationship was found in the Moroccan sample, whereas among Italians higher discrepancy was associated with more negative perception of intergroup relations, more intolerance and more negative attitudes toward Moroccans, but only for the ethnic identity dimension. These results indicate that the concept of compatibility or discrepancy between individuals' acculturation preferences and that imputed to the respective out-group stated in the Interactive Acculturation Model does not apply to identity while is more appropriate to study cultural changes.

In synthesis, my results corroborated the view that ethnic and national identities have an effect on intergroup relations. In particular, my results indicated that in both groups a dual identity could lead to positive intergroup relations. In the light of these results it is important to consider those factors that reinforce ethnic identity and promote national identity. Studies of generational differences in ethnic identity have shown a consistent decline among



immigrants' descendents in ethnic identification (Phinney, 1990). On the contrary, other studies have found a cyclical reappearance of ethnic identity among third and fourth generation immigrants (e.g. Ting-Toomey, 1981). Despite the proved association between generation and ethnic identification no such relationship was found in my analyses. According to the developmental theory with the increasing of age individuals are more likely to have an achieved ethnic identity and a secure sense of the self as an ethnic group member (Phinney et al., 2007). However, I did not find any association between ethnic identity and age as well as length of stay in Italy. Similarly, no gender difference emerged in reference to both ethnic and national identity. The only noteworthy relationship appeared between ethnic identity and same-ethnic peer interaction and between national identity and being friends with Italians. This result once again validates the alternation model and stimulates debate about the importance of close relationships with co-ethnics and out-group members in determining positive attitudes towards out-groups.

To evaluate the present results and to offer some suggestions for further research I want to highlight several issues. These analyses empirically demonstrated that Moroccan immigrants defined themselves as having an integrated or dual identity. In addition this study suggested that the receiving population supported the integrated identity as well. Ethnic identity was conceptualised by including a few items taken from the Phinney's MEIM identity scale. Similar items, formulated in a different way, were used to measure national identity. However, the integrated identity needs to be explicitly measured to confirm my results, especially for its effect on intergroup relations. The multi-item scale developed by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) with the inclusion of two independent psychological constructs, *conflict* and *social distance*, could be a viable alternative (Gong, 2007). My results showed a positive correlation between identity patterns and acculturation attitudes. Further research should test this link by focusing on acculturation behaviours in various domains of life rather than attitudes. Although there is often correspondence between what people think and how they behave, acculturation attitudes and behaviours do not always coincide; therefore a more precise measurement of acculturation can be achieved by focusing on individuals' acculturation

behaviours. The positive effect of the four identity categories as well as the impact of the acculturation strategies in the public and in the private domain on intergroup relations were tested considering only the main effect of the predictors on the dependent variables. The use of a larger sample would help to test the interaction effect of acculturation and identity on intergroup relations.

As discussed in chapter 2, ethnic and national identities are dynamic concepts that change over time and context. Immigrants generally arrive in the new country with favourable attitudes, large expectations of improving their lives and differing attitudes about retaining their identity and becoming part of the new society. With the experience in the new country, not necessarily positive, these attitudes become more realistic and consequently influence individual's identification. I did not find differences over generation in ethnic or national identifications. However, further studies should consider how changes in immigrants' identification impact upon immigrants' relationship with the local population.

In conclusion, within the limits of the groups and the context studied, this chapter provides evidence that the relationship between two different ethnic groups can benefit if they both support immigrants' identification with the new society and immigrants' ethnic identity. Obviously, certain conditions need to be established for the integrated identity, as well as the integration strategy, to be attained. These conditions are the widespread acceptance of cultural diversity by the receiving society, low levels of discrimination and ethnocentrism, positive mutual attitudes among ethno-cultural groups. In the next chapter I will discuss whether these conditions are present or not in my case study. Such analyses help to further support my main argument about the positive impact on intergroup relations of the combined effect of support of cultural diversity with the development of a sense of nationhood among the immigrant group. Acceptance of cultural diversity by the receiving population also implies having positive attitudes toward the immigrant group. Similarly, developing a sense of attachment with the larger society by immigrant communities requires low levels of discrimination. These issues will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Qualitative results**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

Results of the quantitative analyses presented in chapters 4 and 5 of the present thesis work have highlighted that both acculturation strategies and identity patterns were predictive of intergroup relations, with the latter having the strongest impact. In particular, results have suggested that Moroccans with a high degree of ethnic identity and, at the same time, with a high sense of belonging with the Italian society (integrated or dual identity) indicated more positive intergroup relations, in terms of more tolerance toward Italians, than Moroccans with different identity patterns. Findings among Italian respondents resembled these results. More specifically, Italians who agreed that Moroccans should maintain their sense of identity with their ethnic group and contemporarily develop a sense of nationhood with the Italian society were more tolerant, had more positive attitudes toward Moroccans, and perceived their relationship with Moroccans more positively than Italians in favour of other types of Moroccans' identification.

These findings are in line with theorisations of some advocates of multiculturalism who are against the recent revitalization of assimilationist approaches and who believe that the preservation of immigrants' ethnic and culture differences will not hinder social cohesion if host societies promote the development of a shared sense of nationhood among immigrant communities (Modood, 2005). These findings are also in line with my main thesis concerning

the positive effect on intergroup relations of the support of cultural diversity combined with immigrants' development of a sense of belonging with the new country. While in the previous two chapters I have tested the validity of my assumption by analysing the impact of cultural and identity changes that follow contacts between ethno-cultural groups on intergroup relations (and specifically the impact of integration, a strategy that values both cultural diversity and contacts with the host population, on intergroup relations), in this chapter I examine in more detail the relationship between Italians and Moroccans by exploring more deeply those aspects of their relationship that could not emerge from the survey. I started from the assumption that accepting cultural diversity implies also holding positive attitudes toward out-group members and similarly, developing a sense of attachment with the host community requires feeling accepted by the receiving population and not feeling discriminated against. Such an understanding is crucial for determining those factors that make relationships among people of different ethno-cultural groups more harmonious or, on the contrary, more conflictual. Through the discourses of the people I interviewed, I explored whether Italians, who considered cultural diversity as a valuable resource for a society, were also more tolerant of newcomers and more accepting than those Italians who feared cultural diversity. I also expected that these negative feelings would affect the identification of Moroccans with the receiving community. Accordingly, by discussing the thoughts of the interviewees, I assessed whether Moroccans who felt discriminated against, denied equal opportunities and unwelcome were less open toward Italians and less willing to integrate in the new society than Moroccan interviewees that had not experienced discrimination in the new country.

Results presented in this chapter are based on in-depth interviews with ten Moroccans and ten Italians, who had already participated in the survey study. The subjects interviewed do not give a truly comprehensive portrayal of the entire Moroccan and Italian population in Turin, rather their narratives represent a very insightful portrayal of the opinions of one group toward the respective out-groups and of the factors that might generate intolerance. This is, in turn, expected to considerably advance the current understanding of the relationship between the two groups that are examined. Information gathered from the

interviews was grouped in various thematic areas and is presented in two main sections. The first section analyses Italians' views about Moroccans, the factors that are at the roots of their intolerance and the factors that are likely to make Italians more open or more closed and less accepting of newcomers. For the interpretation of these data I refer to some of the main theories of intergroup relations and attitudes in social psychology. I have intentionally refrained from providing early psychological explanations of intergroup behaviours based on the 'authoritarian personality' thesis advanced by Adorno et al. (1950)<sup>1</sup> because, as discussed in chapter 2 this thesis has proven controversial (Brown, 1995). I have rather opted for theories that provide more rational explanations and are concerned with the examination of the social and cognitive processes involved in the interaction between groups, such as, social identity and self-categorization theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan and Stephan, 2000), instrumental model of group conflict (Esses et al., 1998) and contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; see also chapter 2). These theories specify a number of factors that account for the development of favourable or unfavourable intergroup attitudes. Thus, they set the stage for a more complete understanding of the relationship between Italians and Moroccans. The second section, instead, centres on Moroccans' views about Italians, what they like or dislike about Italy, whether they feel accepted or discriminated against by Italians and whether feelings of discrimination affect their process of integration and their identification with the host community.

## 6.2 Italians' views about Moroccans

The episodes of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, Van Gogh' s murder in Amsterdam in 2004, the terror attack in Madrid in 2004 and the London bombings of 7 July 2005 have fuelled generalized mistrust toward ethnic minority groups, Muslims in particular. Since negative attitudes toward individuals because of their membership in a particular group are considered in most social-psychological

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<sup>1</sup> A central theme of this approach, which is set out in *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al., 1950), is that the parent-child relationship has an impact on the development and the formation of an authoritarian disposition. More specifically, the authoritarian personality results from harsh parenting and is susceptible to the development of conservative views, intolerant, and homophobic beliefs.

explanations as the root of intergroup conflict, it is important to understand whether Italians hold negative attitudes toward Moroccans and what their causes are. This issue will be discussed in this section. The section starts with a description of two districts in Turin, San Salvario and Borgo Dora, that are highly populated by immigrant groups and that in the past became the symbol of the Italian urban conflict. This description provides the basis for a discussion on whether or not interethnic contacts can improve the quality of relationships among culturally diverse individuals. In the intervening section I will explore Italians' representations of Moroccans in Turin. In the course of the discussion, I will refer to some social-psychology theories on intergroup relations, namely social identity theory and self-categorization theory to interpret these representations. The results confirm my argument about the positive effect of the support and valorisation of cultural diversity by the native population on intergroup relations. Italian interviewees who are more open and more accepting of newcomers tend to hold more positive opinions about immigrants than those Italians who do not think that immigrants and cultural diversity can enrich Italian society but rather they threaten it, its culture and its traditions. The analyses of Italian attitudes toward Moroccans have additionally highlighted that contacts with out-group members, if repeated and sustained, can improve the quality of intergroup relations. On the contrary, the perception that immigrants may represent a threat to Italians' wellbeing and Italian cultural values is a principal factor that accounts for the development of unfavourable intergroup relations.

### **6.2.1 San Salvario and Borgo Dora**

In order to fully understand the opinions of Italians toward Moroccans and to shed light on my enquiry into the relationship between the two groups it is important to take into consideration the realities of San Salvario and Borgo Dora, the two districts in Turin with the highest concentration of non-EU immigrants. The former is located in the centre of the town between the railway station and Valentino Park. It is a very dynamic area with a mixture of working class and middle-class residents, where old palatial housing alternates with small housing units established for industrial workers. The latter is also located in the historic

centre of Turin (on the opposite side with respect to San Salvario) and has on its core Piazza della Repubblica (also known as Porta Palazzo), site of the biggest open market of the town. Porta Palazzo is a melting pot of ethnicities, races, religions, and languages, which mingle with the dialects coming from all parts of Italy. Yet, this area is one of the most difficult zones of the city, known for its urban blight and a high rate of criminality, chiefly related to prostitution, drug peddling, illegal business, and trading.

During the 1990s, San Salvario and Borgo Dora became sites of strong protests against immigrants and the growing criminality in the neighbourhoods, for which immigrants were held primarily responsible. Such protests were led by a Spontaneous Committee formed by local residents, who were tired of antisocial and criminal behaviours (such as drug dealing and prostitution) linked to foreign immigrants and began to organize a series of demonstrations (Maritano, 2000). These events converged in a national level discourse on immigration legislation, which led to several new amendments to the Martelli law (Merrill, 2006). At the local level, the problem was tackled along three different guidelines: 1) security issue; 2) urban renewal; 3) intensification of social services (Ires, 2007).

The request of more police controls in the streets, particularly invoked by the local population, was fulfilled through the promotion of local security policy. Cooperation among the various police forces and the local administrations contributed to intensify controls in the most problematic areas. Irregular bars, shops and private clubs, blamed for being sites of illegal activities, were closed. Moreover, tax assessments and hygiene inspections in lodgings and restaurants were intensified and cameras were installed in the most critical areas. At the same time the local government launched a plan for the urban upgrading. It was claimed that the conflict between immigrants and the local population was induced by the dilapidated state of urban structures. Citizens tended to avoid derelict areas as well as dirty and badly lit streets that became spaces for criminal activities and deviant behaviours. Therefore, the sense of insecurity that prevailed in the two districts was fought with new town planning, driven by the assumption that social order could be fostered by urban restructuring (Allasino et al., 2000). In Porta Palazzo an underpass was carried out to reduce car traffic in the area of the open market, Borgo Dora gardens were closed at night to move

away drug peddlers, street light was improved and some areas were pedestrianised and decorated with flowers and plants. In 1996 the urban project titled “The Gate. Living not leaving” was presented to the European Union with the aim of improving the quality of life and work in Porta Palazzo. The project was articulated in 19 subsections operating in various areas: liveability of the neighbourhood, environmental and energy problems, social relations, trading and security. With the funding of the European Union and the support of other public and private agencies the project became effective bringing to a successful conclusion almost all endorsed projects (Rubbo, 2009).

Unlike security policies, social policies received less attention by the local government. This occurred partly because there were already many services offered to marginalized people like prostitutes, illegal immigrants, unaccompanied immigrants and drug users and partly because the demand of the local population for more security and controls was prioritized. The combined actions of the municipal administration and the police forces halted the crisis both in San Salvario and in Porta Palazzo, although periodically protests against immigrants re-surface again<sup>2</sup>. The present fieldwork was carried out more than ten years after the 1995 urban crisis, when most of the planned projects were realized. Although the situation and the living conditions in the two areas have improved, the security threat is still a big issue in these two areas. Italian residents still feel unsafe because of the presence in *their* territory of immigrants and the high rate of immigrant criminality. This sense of lack of safety was also expressed by Maurizio, one of the Italian interviewees, who lives in San Salvario:

‘We cannot stand this situation anymore. Cameras have been installed in the streets but actually they are not very useful. Drug dealers have not gone away, they have simply moved to another corner. It is enough to take a walk through these streets between 8 o’ clock in the evening and dawn to see how these streets are overrun by drug dealers. Let alone the prostitutes. There was a very nice fountain in that square over there. It has been turned off because

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<sup>2</sup> La Stampa Agosto 31<sup>st</sup> 2005. Don Gallo: Torna la voglia di spranga. La Stampa June 16<sup>th</sup> 2007. Giustizia fai da te a San Salvario: tornano le ronde.



prostitutes used it to wash themselves. How can we accept living in these conditions? After all even the police cannot do much. The police catch peddlers, take them to the police station and two days after they are again on the streets to peddle drugs’.

Similarly, Davide, an Italian resident who lives in Porta Palazzo, said:

‘Every street here is controlled by a different ethnic group. Corso Regina is controlled by Nigerians and Senegalese, while the area of the open market is territory of Northern Africans....Among all immigrants I think Moroccans are the most dangerous. Some of them are under age and they are alone in Italy, while their families remained in Morocco. They sell hashish and cocaine and sometimes they are drug users as well. Violence is the only language they know. They are willing to do anything just to make money for themselves, their families or their exploiter. There is no social control here and they know they are not punishable by the Italian law as they are minors...I am not wrong if I say that this is the Bronx. We cannot even go out in the evening for a walk, because there are only drug users, pushers, and drunks. That’s enough. There is a limit to tolerance and we have passed it. The situation would not be so dramatic if criminals were punished severely. During the Olympic games Porta Palazzo looked different and for the first time we could freely walk in the streets at any time of the day. We had to give a good image of the city to tourists. By magic all pushers and prostitutes disappeared during those two weeks and they came back again at the end of the Olympic games. I think there is somebody who takes advantage from this situation otherwise I cannot explain why the voices of residents in Porta Palazzo are not listened to.’

Another resident, Luciana, shares a similar view of the situation in the district:

‘If I lived in a very nice house in an exclusive neighbourhood I would be like those persons who claim that they are not racist. Of course, they do not see people who throw the rubbish from the window and sleep in the garage. Why do they not take immigrants in their neighbourhoods? Why do they have to stay here at all?’

The Italian interviewees seem to justify their intolerant attitudes, explicitly expressed in their discourses, by the harsh reality that they have to face. The local administration is partly considered responsible for the worsening of conditions in the area since they could not prevent effectively the spread of criminality. In truth, the local government has mobilized, although there are so many and diverse issues to be solved that the results of the local government’s actions can only be seen in the long term. While generally Italian interviewees who are very religious tended to be more tolerant and to play down the problems between Italians and immigrants in those two districts, their political preferences did not seem to shape their attitudes. In fact, when the committee for the security in San Salvario organized new *ronde* (vigilante groups patrolling the streets) in 2007 both supporters of left and right wing parties participated in them<sup>3</sup>.

Of course, there are many cases of Moroccans who are well integrated in the new context as well as cases of Italians who like living in those districts, as Maria, an inhabitant of Porta Palazzo who says:

‘I have been living here for thirty years and nothing has ever happened to me. Of course you have to watch out for the pickpockets especially at night. I go to work in the morning, I come back in the evening, I think about my own business and I am fine. I lived here when many Italians from South Italy migrated to Turin and I am still here now that many immigrants settled in Porta Palazzo. I like staying here and I do not think I would move away only because it became a multiethnic neighbourhood.’

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<sup>3</sup> La Stampa June 16<sup>th</sup> 2007. Io da sempre di sinistra faccio le ronde con AN.

Following the prediction of the Contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), the high number of immigrants in San Salvario and Borgo Dora should increase the opportunity for interethnic contacts and improve the quality of interethnic relations. Yet, some of the Italian interviewees described these two neighbourhoods as places where it is difficult to live in, where it is not possible to go out at night and where fights and bag-snatchings happen on a regular basis. Immigrants in general, or immigrants who commit crime, are considered responsible for the urban blight. The high visibility of immigrant crimes and the first hand experience of them dim the image also of the majority of immigrants who regularly live and work in Turin, simply because these are less visible. For many Italians, interaction with immigrants is therefore limited to these ‘visible contacts’, with the consequent risk of associating the entire immigrant population with criminality. As Pratt (2002) has pointed out “an Italian thief is a thief, a Moroccan thief is a Moroccan”. Only close and positive interactions can avoid representing and describing immigrants as drug dealers or prostitutes. Information about the out-group that develops through contact can help to break down prejudice, reduce the fear of difference and improve the likelihood of more positive relations. Even when the initial contact reinforces pre-existing stereotypes, these may be broken down over time as trust and empathy develops through repeated contacts (Pettigrew, 1998: 65-85). Local institutions and cultural associations have worked in this direction, and, whilst the practice is still developing, there is some evidence that this approach has had some success, especially in San Salvario. In this respect the parish priest of a church in the area of San Salvario said:

‘Italians have learnt how to understand and accept cultural diversity. Public debates, neighbourhood festivals, events organized by the Baretto cinema, the activities of the *‘Agenzia per lo sviluppo di San Salvario’* (Association for the development in San Salvario) have all been critical. We should not forget the help to Italian families of immigrants who work in the domestic sector...I am well aware of how bad the situation was in this neighbourhood a decade ago. It is better now but there is still a lot of work to do’.

Another interviewee who took part in neighbourhood festivals said:

‘The first time I participated in these events organized in San Salvatio, I was invited by my neighbour. It was a kind of international dinner where every person cooked a traditional dish. There, I met Fatima, a Moroccan woman who lives in the same building as me. Till then we had just greeted each other. Now, I sometimes go with her to the open market or we just go for a coffee in the afternoon. She is a nice woman, very proactive and sociable. With time I found out that we are more similar than I expected even if we belong to different ethnic backgrounds’ (Sara).

Much of the social psychological theories suggest (e.g., Social Identity Theory, Contact Hypothesis) that individuals categorise other people and create groups on the base of perception of difference, while regular and positive contacts can assuage fear of difference and anxiety caused by such difference, by knowing people as individuals and not for their group membership (Cantle, 2005). Nevertheless, positive attitudes promoted by close and sustained interactions are, among the interviewees, limited to the persons they come into contact with and such positive attitudes can hardly be generalised to the entire ethnic community. Thus, there is no evidence that personal friendship with out-group members will provide positive and tolerant attitudes with the out-group in general.

The fear of difference and the sense of insecurity are however not perceived by those Italians who live in areas of the town with a low percentage of immigrants. On the contrary, they tend to emphasise the benefits for the Italian society brought by the presence of immigrants (“we all know that we need immigrants, otherwise entire sectors of the Italian economy would collapse”, “I do not think immigrants represent a threat, I rather think they enrich our society”), especially if they employ immigrants in the domestic service sector or for the care of their families. Following Cotesta’s theorization about urban interethnic conflicts, the divergence of views among Italian interviewees has two

different explanations (Cotesta, 1999). The first one can be traced back to the social stratification of individuals in the various urban areas, which sees middle and upper class residents living in areas where there are only a limited number of immigrants, and lower-class residence living in areas where immigrants concentrate because of the more affordable prices of the lodgings. Thus, according to the first explanation, local residents' protests against immigrants can be ascribed to the fear of seeing reducing the quality of their neighbourhood. However, such protests can also be considered as clashes between the poorest part of the society, which experiences the disadvantages of living in districts highly populated by immigrants and the most powerful component of the society, which mostly value immigrants' presence (e.g the employment of immigrants in the domestic service sector, or for the care of members of their families). The second explanation is ascribable to the fear that the growing immigrant community may cause a decline of the value of one's own goods like the house, the neighbourhood or the quality of life. The flight of many Italian families from areas with a strong migrant community to move to areas where Italians are still predominant is an increasing phenomenon. While the former explanation can be used to explain the urban conflict in Borgo Dora, the latter can be traced back to the case of the protests against immigrants in San Salvario.

### **6.2.2 Italians' representations of Moroccans**

In the discourses recorded during the interviews it emerged that some of the Italian interviewees do accept the idea of Italy as a multicultural country. They also see the presence of individuals of different ethnic origins and cultures not as a threat to their identity but rather as an occasion to enrich their lives that in addition provides an indispensable contribution to the local economic production. In most cases these positive views stem from the constant interaction between Italians and members of the Moroccan community. On the contrary, there are other respondents who have neither direct experience nor considerable contact with other ethnic groups. In such cases the representation of Moroccans is often articulated in terms of dichotomous distinction between *us* and *them*. The difference in the styles of life and in the way of thinking between Italians and

Moroccans and a presumed superiority of one's own group reinforce the separation between the in-group and the out-group. Such distinction is often presented as fixed and immutable rather than socially constructed, leading to a line of argument in support of a deterministic definition of culture. This idea, which in some cases is accompanied by a rejection of cultural and religious pluralism, is also supported by the discourses of some political leaders who refuse a multiethnic and multicultural Italy and whose action is oriented toward the defence of Italian identity<sup>4</sup>.

Italian people who have no direct knowledge of Moroccan culture have to rely upon myths and stereotypes about out-group members. In their representations of Moroccans, negative stereotypes reoccurred several times: "Moroccan men are arrogant, authoritarian, possessive and violent with women, while women are submissive; Moroccans are shirkers". Such representations recall the way Southern Italians were perceived by Northern Italians at the time of internal migration in the 1950s and 1960s. They were described with derogative expressions such as *terrone*, or *napuli* and criticised because they were "liable to have many children, although they did not have the means to support them, they were willing to accept jobs that Northern Italians refused, they had bad manners and they were anchored to such concepts as honour, that for Northern Italians were irrational" (Sacchi and Viazzo, 2003). The reduced hostility of northern Italians toward southern Italians demonstrates that group categories are not fixed but can change over time. Individuals, who were initially considered as members of the out-group, may be over time re-categorised and thought of as member of the same group. As I showed in the previous section, close contacts can help to reduce the fear of difference and lead to know other people as individuals and not for their group membership.

It is important to note that Moroccans themselves refer to some members of their own community recurring to some of the representations used by Italians to refer to Moroccans. For example, when talking about Moroccans who come from the Khouribga area Fatima said:

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<sup>4</sup> La Repubblica May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Berlusconi: «Si ai rimpatri, non apriremo le porte a tutti». Radio "Anch'io", March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2006: Berlusconi: «Welcoming yes, but no to a multi-ethnic Italy».

‘Like many of my co-nationals I do not have a good opinion about Moroccans who come from the city of Khouribga and its surrounding area. I think they are uncouth, too passive, and scroungers. They do not have a scrap of pride. In most of the cases they are street sellers or they wash car windscreens at the traffic lights. These could be temporary jobs that many Moroccans did when they arrived in Italy but they do not even try to improve their condition. They take advantage of Italian voluntary associations even if they do not need that. They get support for accommodation, food and also for clothes, which in many cases are taken to Morocco to be sold at the markets. Once I met a 14 years old Moroccan who sold tissues and lights outside the University building. I told him that he could have attended vocational courses organized by the Municipality with the possibility afterwards to look for a better job. He answered that his uncle by doing street selling was able to build a house in Morocco. Later on, I found out that his uncle forced him to do street selling to discharge the debt for the boy’s trip to Italy. I can understand Italians when they have negative opinions about Moroccans because they base their judgements by referring to these people. Honestly, I also cannot stand them. Moroccans from Rabat, Marrakech or other cities are in general kinder and behave better than those who come from the villages. Berbers are in general more serious, cleaner and are more able than other Moroccans to succeed in life. They have their own traditions and very often Berber families do not allow that their children marry someone who does not have Berber origins. This is happening also in Italy.’

This comment, which is also shared by other Moroccan interviewees who, like Fatima, come from big cities in Morocco, clearly indicates that categorizations within the Moroccan community are made on the basis of individuals’ origins in Morocco. Although all Moroccan interviewees expressed a high identification with their country of origin, local identifications still play a

relevant role, especially during the daily interpersonal relations. They tend to frequent friends who come from the same town or region, and similarly they decide to share their flats with people who share the same origins in Morocco. Another distinction is made between urban and rural areas or between Arab and Berber origins. The type of origins strongly influences not only the kind of job that Moroccans do in Turin but also the characteristics attributed to them, with Moroccans of rural and Arab origins being portrayed more negatively than their co-nationals who come from urban areas. For example, Moroccans who come from big cities such as Casablanca, Rabat or Settat describe Moroccans from Khouribga<sup>5</sup> as *arobiin* (country bumpkins) and they attribute the causes of Italians' negative opinions about Moroccans to the presumed ignorance and backwardness of people from that area. For this reason they tend to stand out from them as it is clearly expressed by the discourse of the Moroccan quoted above, who is originally from Rabat. Khouribga citizens do not accept passively this negative connotation and by claiming their urban origins they shift the negative opinion attributed to them to Moroccan immigrants of rural origins.

The use of stereotypes to describe Moroccans and the consequent distinction between us-Italians and them-Moroccans are defined on the basis of cultural differences between Italians and Moroccans and the presumed incompatibility between the two cultures. The emphasis puts on cultural traits, such as religion or language, leads to a classification of immigrants in hierarchies of good and bad immigrants (Maritano, 2002). This hierarchical structure is reflected in the stereotype present among some Italian interviewees that sees immigrants from Peru as immigrants who can be easily integrated into Italian society since they are more similar to Italians, and Moroccans or other Muslim groups as immigrants who cannot integrate. The effects of such classification are evident in the social relations. Italians look at Moroccans with distrust and fear, and limit the possibilities of contacts and social relations with them. Even when they share the same urban spaces or frequent the same places an invisible but clear-cut boundary separates Moroccans from autochthons that only close and repeated contacts can help to break.

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<sup>5</sup> The highest percentage of Moroccans living in Turin come from this areas.



### 6.2.3 Factors that shape Italians' intolerance toward Moroccans

The present section focuses on the motives at the roots of Italians' intolerance toward Moroccans and the factors that are likely to make Italians more open and tolerant toward members of that ethnic group or more closed and less accepting. Italians' negative feelings toward Moroccans may arise from a number of factors, which can generally be ascribed to a perceived threat posed by the immigrant group to the wellbeing of the Italian community. In particular, this section focuses on three different types of threat: threat to a) Italians' privileged positions as members of a dominant group; b) Italians' security; c) the Italian and religious identity.

#### *Competition for resources*

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, Italians tend to categorise Moroccans as members of a different group on the basis of salient cultural and behavioural differences. This categorization and the consequent primordial distinction 'us-them' can also develop into more rigid patterns of group favouritism where the emotional attachment to one's own group is opposed to unfavourable views of the other group, the out-group. In this perspective, discrimination and intolerance can be considered as a rational mean to protecting the interests of one's own group at the expense of the out-group. The presumed superiority of the members of the in-group allows them to think that a different socio-economic treatment and a different distribution of resources among the population is permitted to safeguard their privileged and advantageous position, especially in a situation of public service shortage. The idea that Italians' needs should be accommodated first is shared by many Italian interviewees and it is summed up by the discourse of an Italian man, Maurizio, who said:

'I was born in Turin and I have been living here all of my life, but recently I feel I no longer like this city. There are too many scroungers who claim everything with the excuse of being minorities. They arrived here without skills, without knowing anything about our values and traditions, but still they expect us to adapt to them. We

offer them council houses, health services, and education even if they do not contribute for the maintenance of these public services. I think the community should first take our own minorities like, unemployed or disabled people, upon itself and only then support those people who have not contributed to the community. We are Christians and we should be benevolent but I think benevolence passes first by our homes’.

The housing market is a sector where the competition between Italians and Moroccans is strongest. A recent study about the housing condition of immigrants in Turin showed a high propensity of Moroccans to turn to the council housing as a strategy to overcome the difficulty of finding proper accommodation, even when they potentially could afford to buy a house (Ponzo, 2009). This attitude is motivated by the fact that Moroccans, being the oldest immigrant community living in Turin, are more aware than other immigrant groups, of their rights and the possibilities available to immigrants. They can also count on informal information that circulates among members of their community, as one of the Moroccan interviewees clearly explains:

‘When the procedures to obtain the council house became more restrictive the information that the priority in the allocation of the council houses was given to people who were evicted started to circulate among Moroccans. Consequently, they considered eviction as an opportunity rather than a threat and in some cases they asked their landlord to evict them in order to progress in the list for the allocation of the council housing (Turaya)’.

As this passage clearly shows, the access to services depends not only on the availability of the services but also on the knowledge about and the requisites necessary to access these services (Marceca, 2000). The wide knowledge Moroccans have about the services and opportunities available put them in a more advantageous position in comparison to other immigrant groups. However, it also exposes them to more hostility on the part of the native population, who

perceive them as potential competitors, especially in the housing market. In fact, any benefits received by immigrant groups is perceived as reducing benefits for the host population, especially in a situation of council housing shortage. Italians often think their chances of getting a council house are reduced by the presence of many migrant families, who usually live in more disadvantaged conditions. Luciana, an Italian woman, complained to me that:

‘The list for the awarding of the council houses is drawn up on the basis of the living conditions, income and number of family components of the applicants. Migrants usually have larger families than Italians and in many cases they work in the black market, so that they, officially, appear to be unemployed. Consequently, they are put at the top of the list even if sometimes they earn more money than many Italian low-income families, who work and regularly pay taxes. We have to help and support immigrants, but who is thinking about many poor Italian families?’

Similarly another Italian interviewee (Lorenzo) said:

‘I do not think I can be referred to as racist if I believe that Italians should have the priority for being allocated to the council houses. We must report injustice and we must make sure that the spreading of intolerance is prevented, but believing that council houses, that, by the way, are not available for everybody, should be given first to Italians is a right that Italians should claim without being labelled racist’.

The Italian law allows immigrants, who hold a regular residence permit and who have a job, access to council housing on the same terms as Italians. However, the council housing is far too limited to meet the needs of both Italians and immigrants. The fact that immigrants with larger families and smaller incomes often have a priority in the assigning of vacant public housing units has given rise to some resentment. Different solutions have been taken to limit the

competition between Italians and immigrants for scarce resources. In Piedmont, for example, the eligibility conditions have been tightened by requiring long-term employment contracts. This, however, has not prevented some Italians from complaining that discrimination exists in favour of immigrants (e.g. any immigrant has higher points than Italians), thus calling for a welfare system that puts Italian citizens first. This example of welfare chauvinism that emphasises the need for preferential treatment of Italians has also been supported by members of the Northern League party. Umberto Bossi, the firebrand leader of the North League, notoriously attacked immigrants by saying that “council housing should go to Italians and not to the first bingo bongo that arrives in Italy”<sup>6</sup>. Yet, as supporters of the distributive paradigm<sup>7</sup> claim, what prevents culturally diverse people from fully integrating in society is their lack of access to basic social services (Rawls, 1973). Intentional discrimination based on largely un-chosen factors, such as race, ethnicity or religion is unjust, and distributive inequalities resulting from such discrimination are unjust as well (Rawls, 1973; Scheffler, 2003; Young, 1990). Consequently, host countries should feel responsible for migrant group members and should meet their needs accordingly through benefits, or otherwise, the exclusion of immigrants from equal allocation of economic, political and social rights, may risk jeopardising the very basis of democratic societies (Bierbrauer and Klinger, 2002).

The competition between immigrants and Italians over council housing resources that in Turin, as in the rest of the country, are rather limited can fuel anti-immigrants sentiments, especially in those segments of the population who live in more disadvantaged conditions. Similarly, some Italian interviewees feared that the increasing percentage of migrants at pre-school age could reduce their chances of getting a place in the public kindergarten (*“Immigrants do not take jobs from Italians but, on the other hand, they take places at the kindergarten”; they (immigrants) steal from Italians places at the kindergarten”; places at the kindergarten are almost only taken by immigrants*). However, there are interviewees like Marika, who have a different opinion:

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<sup>6</sup> La Repubblica, December 4<sup>th</sup> 2003.

<sup>7</sup> The distributive paradigm is an ideology that defines social justice as the morally proper distribution of social benefits and burdens among society's members. The distributive definition of justice includes material resources such as wealth and income as well as non-material social goods such as rights, opportunity, power, and self-respect

‘Kindergartens respond to the needs of working mothers who are not able to take care of their children all day. So the criteria followed for the assignation of places in the public kindergartens is based on selection of children with working mothers. Since most migrant women do not work and, if they do, in most cases it is not a regular job, Italian children have a priority in the list. I disagree with many Italian mothers who accuse immigrants if they can’t get a place in the public kindergarten. They should complain to the local administrations because it’s their responsibility to cope with the growing number of requests’.

Unlike the housing market and the access to social services such as the public kindergarten, the segmentation of the labour market, with immigrants generally being excluded from certain areas of employment, has limited the competition between migrants and Italians in this sector. However, one Italian interviewee suggested that a form of discrimination against Italians exists because for subordinate jobs migrants are hired instead of Italians. The availability of migrant labourers to accept jobs, which carry with them a limited benefits package, low worker compensation and very low wages has reduced the bargaining power of Italian workers and has contributed to fuel anti-immigrant sentiments (Pugliese, 2003). Overt conflict has rarely occurred, however. Italians have more frequently protested against some advantages granted to migrant workers, in some cases related to their Muslim faith. For example, Giovanni, a 42-year-old steel worker, commented that:

‘I do not think it is fair that migrants get more leave only because they have to go to their countries of origin and see their families, or they have to go on a pilgrimage. In my factory, we all work the same amount of hours, we get the same salary and we should also get the same number of days off. Sometimes they are also allowed to stop working because they have to pray... Now tell me, who is being discriminated against, Italians or immigrants?’

Italians claim priority for the satisfaction of their needs not only to favour the interests of members of their own group but also to defend and legitimise the privileged position of Italians as members of a majority group. Such 'protectionism' is an unfair but a rational behaviour: sharing out opportunities between a larger number on an equal basis will reduce the advantages and the opportunities available, especially in a situation of limited resources. Therefore, claiming more right than new arrivals is only an attempt to retain more opportunities for themselves. Italians who support the idea that resources should unequally been distributed, are also more likely to be more intolerant toward Moroccans ("in Italy there are too many immigrants"; "the costs of immigration for the Italian community are higher than the benefits"; "the Italian government should limit the arrival of new immigrants"). This position usually concerns the most disadvantaged strata of the population who fear more the competition for scarce resources, especially, in the access to the council housing, to places at public kindergarten and in the labour market. Within this perspective, such negative feelings cannot be considered an expression of ethnic prejudice per se, but rather, as noted earlier, a more economically driven belief in the competition for resources. The clash of group interests was also found to be a principal engine of group hostility also in Sniderman et al.'s study about prejudice in Italy (Sniderman et al., 2000). In fact, according to the authors, Italians disliked immigrants because they were, or believed they were, worse-off because of them. However, it is important to note that the index of blame used by the authors to measure Italians' prejudice included not only material interests, for which Italians and immigrants compete, such as jobs or public services, but also dangerous living circumstances, like crime or reduced public health, that count as a loss of actual goods. Thus, the factors that accounted for Italian prejudice considered in the index included different types of threat (security threat, threat to their wellbeing), but did not consider the threat to the Italian identity that, as it will be shown later in this chapter, is a relevant factor to explain Italians' negative feelings toward immigrants.

In contrast, Italian interviewees who were against the idea that non-egalitarian and hierarchical structures characterise interethnic relationships were more prone to think that immigrants and cultural diversities enrich the Italian

society and that all individuals irrespective of their ethnic origins should be given an equal chance in life. Belief in the value of equality and social justice reflects the principles of democracy as well as the principles supported by the Italian government. However, when talking about equality it is important to establish whether one is referring to equality of opportunities or outcomes (Deaux, 2009). In fact, while immigrants in Italy are guaranteed equal access to the social services as the local population, in reality there are still divergences between the two groups in the outcomes, with Italians still being favoured in the access to the social services.

### *Threat to Italian security*

The high visibility of Moroccans' crimes and the first hand experience with them has triggered a sense of insecurity and fear among the Italian population in Turin. Two districts in Turin where there is the highest concentration of immigrants have been portrayed by some Italian residents as areas where criminality and deviant behaviour occurs on a regular basis. Despite the initiatives carried out by the local government to intensify policy controls and to launch projects of urban upgrading these two districts still appear as areas controlled by criminals. The precaution taken by many Italians to reduce their risk was to avoid going to those areas or moving away to safer neighbourhoods, thus intensifying the phenomenon of so called 'white flight'<sup>8</sup>. Although the image of Moroccan immigrants is among some Italian interviewees rather negative, statistics show that only a minority percentage of these immigrants have fallen into deviancy and delinquency, and that for the most part they are involved in crimes accomplished without the use of the force (e.g. pick pocketing, drug peddling, burglary, auto theft or theft to other movable property, Barbagli and Colombo, 2009). According to the conflict model of crime (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009) these crimes can be seen as acts committed by people in need who are forced to rob to survive. However, Italian interviewees disagree with this interpretation and believe that in some circumstances Moroccans deliberately choose to get involved in illegal activities, such as in the drug market, to earn more money in

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<sup>8</sup> White flight is a sociological term denoting a trend wherein native families leave areas with strong or growing immigrant communities, because of security threat, as in the case of the neighbourhoods of Porta Palazzo and San Salvario in Turin, or because of the perceived negative impact of a growing number of black and ethnic minority people on the area.

the shortest time possible. These opinions can be synthesised by the discourse of Giovanni, an Italian interviewee, who said:

‘I believe that many Moroccans arrived in Italy with the idea that they could find the Eldorado here. I am sure that many have succeeded in life and they might have given the impression to their co-nationals in Morocco that it was possible to become rich in Italy. Perhaps those who migrated pushed by this illusion got disappointed when they arrived in Italy and realized that the situation was different from what they expected. But instead of making sacrifices they prefer to take the easiest and the quickest way to make money, by for example getting involved in drug trafficking. I am not against immigrants but if they came here to commit crimes they should be sent back to their own countries’.

National statistics about immigrant crimes indicate that it is not the native population but rather the immigrants who are more often victimised by many crimes (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009). The reasons attributed by various scholars to the high frequency of situations in which immigrants are criminally victimised is related to their vulnerability: they ignore the law, they are not familiar with Italian institutions, and their illegal status. Notably, the latter aspect contributes significantly to expose immigrants to crime. This obviously, does not mean that every illegal immigrant is a potential delinquent. However, the illegal condition in which many immigrants slip definitely represents an obstacle for their full integration and makes them more susceptible to crime. Many Italian interviewees blame the Italian government for the presence of illegal immigrants and for not being able to control its territory. As one of the Italian interviewees said:

‘I think the Italian law is too soft with delinquents. If they were severely punished for the crimes they commit we would feel more safety and protected. But unfortunately this is not the case. The Italian government is able neither to avoid the arrival of many illegal immigrants nor to send back to their countries those who commit



crimes. And at the end we have to maintain them with our money if they go to prison' (Luciana).

In the public debate the issue of illegal immigration has often been linked with the risks of terrorism connected to Islamic fundamentalism, and has consequently given rise to further legitimisations to the calls for curtailing immigration (Zanfrini and Kluth, 2008). The threat to security increased when terror cells that gravitated around the mosque of Porta Palazzo were found in September 2005. This episode led to the expulsion of the imam Bouiriqui Bouchta and his successor Mohammed Kohaila for reasons of public security and fomented the suspicion that mosques could be places of cultural indoctrination. This suspicion became even more realistic when in March 2007 the public network RAI broadcasted on TV the footage of an investigation conducted by an Italian journalist in the mosque of Porta Palazzo. She secretly filmed the sermon of an imam inciting violent anti-western behaviour and women's submission. She also showed printed material proving relations with extremist close to militant jihadists<sup>9</sup>. As a consequence of these episodes, controls in the mosques were intensified, especially concerning the source of foreign funding for religious buildings. The fear of possible connections with mosques and jihadist activists has led to increasing disagreement by the native population over the existence and the building of new mosques. A solution has still not been taken and Muslims' request for having a formal mosque where they can go and pray has still not been granted, as will be explained in more detail in the next section.

Although the local population often accuse immigrants for being responsible for the increasing insecurity and criminality rate, the thesis of a direct relationship between deviant behaviours and insecurity is not supported by research (e.g. Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 2005; Lohrmann and Guerra, 2000). More reasonably, such feelings can be fuelled by Italian medias that often transmit alarmist information on immigration, depicting immigrants as invaders, criminals and a threat for the society. Several studies conducted on the media's representation of immigrants and immigration have shown that they tended to focus on immigrants especially when they were involved in criminal episodes,

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<sup>9</sup> La Stampa, Friday 30<sup>th</sup> March, 2007.

contributing to spreading a fear of foreigners among the Italian population and anti-immigrants sentiments. On the contrary, everyday aspects of the integration process or facets of the Italian system that contribute to create the condition for illegal migration do not appear in communications (Cotesta, 1999; Dal Lago, 1999; Stoppiello, 1999). Thus, Italians are little informed by the media about the huge informal labour market in Italy, Italian employers who exploit immigrant labour, and organised crime, which involves immigrants in trafficking. The message merely stresses the stereotypes and the danger of immigrants' involvement in crime (Campani, 2001). Another common theme in the Italian public discourse and mass media about immigration is the perceived threat to Italian national identity. This issue will be broached in the next section.

#### *Threat to Italian and religious identity*

The frequent comment that I heard from Italian interviewees concerning immigrants' integration in Italy was that immigrants should adapt to the Italian culture and not vice versa. The general reasoning was that welcoming immigrants should not imply giving up values and traditions of the host community. Yet, some Italians feel their identity and culture is threatened by the presence of ethnically and culturally diverse individuals. Muslims in particular are represented as the stereotypically threatening groups who want to implant their conditions without respecting Italian laws and traditions. In support of their opinions a few Italian interviewees recalled the episode that occurred near the city of l'Aquila in 2003 that raised a heated debate about the presumed incompatibility of Muslim immigrants with the Italian way of life. The motive that triggered such debate was the court ruling to remove the crucifix from the classroom walls of a primary school near l'Aquila. The case was raised by Adam Smith, the president of the Union of Italian Muslims, whose children were pupils at that school. Following the court order, the public opinion divided between those who stressed the representation of Italy as a secular state and those who claimed that Italy's catholic historic roots should be defended despite the increasing percentage of immigrants of different religions. A similar episode was narrated to me by an Italian teacher, Anna, at a public kindergarten:

‘At our kindergarten, children used to say a little prayer in the morning before starting activities. Till a few months ago we had only Italian children and a few Peruvians, all of Catholic religion. When in December a Moroccan kid arrived at our school his father asked us to suspend this habit and to give up the Christmas school play. We thought his request was unfair towards the rest of the class. So, we asked him to teach his son a Muslim prayer and we organized extra activities for the Moroccan kid when the rest of the class prepared the school play. I do not know if that was the best solution but we tried to placate everybody’.

The episode offers an example about how, in specific circumstances, it is possible to accommodate the needs of people of different cultures and religions. However, a clash of cultures sometimes occurs, especially in situations connected with religious issues. Especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, many politicians, social scientists and churchmen became very critical about the integration of Muslim immigrants. Among these cardinal Biffi expressed explicitly his opinions about the arrival of Muslim immigrants in Italy. The archbishop of Bologna invoked the Italian government to limit Muslim immigrants and to promote Catholic-only immigration policy in order to preserve Italian national identity, history and traditions. He believed that Muslims’ family law, their conception of women, and their theocratic world-view with no distinction between religion and politics was incompatible with Italian national identity (Biffi, 2000). Similar ideas but from a secular perspective were expressed by Sartori<sup>10</sup> (2000). He claimed that the theocratic view of the world with no distinction between the State and Church, religion and politics, peculiar of the Islamic culture, contrasted with western societies (Sartori, 2000).

Islam today is in Italy the second religion in terms of numbers of followers, preceded only by Catholicism (Friedberg, 2002). By law Islam like all religions present in Italy has the right to exist and be practiced. Article 8 of the Italian Constitution, in particular, establishes that all religions are equally free before the law. It also defends their right to organize themselves according to their own by-

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<sup>10</sup> Sartori Giovanni is an important and acclaimed Italian political scientist specialised in the study of democracy and a leading critic of multiculturalism.

laws, provided they do not conflict with Italian legislation. Individuals' freedom of practising their own religions was also supported by the majority of respondents of the survey study presented in this thesis, who believed that Moroccan immigrants in Italy should maintain and practice their religion. However, the most debated aspect connected to Islam is not the faith itself but rather the presence of mosques where Muslims can pray. In fact, the building of new mosques or prayer halls has often been an argument of contestation among Italians (Triandafyllidou, 2002). In Turin, as elsewhere in the country, Italians have shown their disagreement with the existence of Mosques, often considered places of cultural indoctrination, sometimes linked to international terrorism. Especially after the expulsions of two Imams accused of being related to terror cells, the mistrust toward Muslim communities increased to such an extent that a new mosque-building project in the neighbourhood of Borgo Dora was halted by the opposition of local residents. The comment of an Italian resident encapsulates the discontent of the population who lived in that area:

‘There are already too many Mosques in Turin; I think they are enough. The permission for a new one is an unfettered colonization of our culture, especially if we consider that in most Islamic countries it is not possible to build Christian churches. They even persecute Christians and here we must accept their conditions! At least if the imams were properly chosen and said their sermons in Italian we could be sure that mosques are places used only for religious purposes’ (Davide).

The Italian interviewee highlights in his discourse three points that are often present in the Italian mosque debate. The first one concerns the use of the Arab language during the sermons (Boccolini, 2004). Praying in a language that is not the language spoken in the receiving country fuels suspicion among the host population that Islamic extremists use prayer centres to plan, coordinate and support terrorism. Given that not all Muslims living in Turin speak Arabic, sermons in Italian are thought not only to limit suspicion among the local population, but also to be an additional factor that motivates newcomers to learn

Italian (Boccolini, 2004). The second point regards the lack of a clerical hierarchy within Islam and the consequent difficulty in dealing with a recognized leadership of the Islamic community (Pin, 2010). This characteristic of the Islamic religion has often led many imams to proclaim themselves as representative members of the community although they were not recognised as such by the community itself. Finally, the last point concerns the invocation of the principle of reciprocity (Pace, 2004), that is, the possibility of building Catholic buildings in Muslim countries. Moroccans' requests for having formal places to pray are often refused with the motivation that Christians in some Islamic countries are neither welcomed nor respected for their religious credo. As it is clearly stated in the discourse of the Italian interviewee quoted above, as well as by supporters of the reciprocity principle, the fulfilment of Muslims' requests is considered an attempt by Islamic communities to colonize western societies. The call for the reciprocity principle is however questionable, according to Pace (2002). Muslim immigrants in Italy, in fact, cannot be blamed for the political choices made in Islamic countries concerning other religions and for the ban imposed by their governments to Christian churches. This is especially true considering that the Italian constitution provides for religious freedom and the respect of all doctrines.

Turin at the moment counts 13 mosques even though none of them are formal mosques but rather prayer halls or makeshift mosques in building basements or on a pavement outside garages. Arabic is still the language used to pray. On Friday Muslim people crowd these places for the prayer, triggering the protests of the neighbouring residents:

‘On Friday when they gather to pray they occupy also the central court of the building where I live. On that day I cannot even listen to the music. If it is too loud they come and ask me to switch it off. There must be silence. We all have to listen to them. They became the masters here and we have to obey’ (Luciana).

From the minorities' point of view the denial of proper places to pray with their community is often considered an obstacle for their full integration. Not just

recent or illegal immigrants feel unwelcome, but also established Muslim residents like Karim who said:

‘I have been living here for 20 years, I pay taxes but I still do not feel at home. There are situations where I feel uncomfortable because Italians do not see me as someone who is integrated; they are always suspicious about Muslim people...During the Ramadan we cannot pray regularly because we do not have the permission to stop working. Our religious feasts are working days because Italy follows a Catholic calendar. At least we should have the right to have an official mosque; there is a Synagogue in Turin, why there should not be a mosque?’

The refusal by some Italians of building new mosques is not only driven by the mistrust they have toward Muslim people and the fear that such mosques could be places for the proliferation of Islamic terror cells. The requests advanced by Muslim communities are also seen as a threat to Italian national identity and customs, especially considering the confluence in many cases of Catholic identity with Italian identity. The increasing number of immigrants of Muslim religion has in fact contributed to a re-discovery of the country’s collective memory of a Catholic identity. In this perspective, safeguarding Catholicism against the spread of Islam and Muslim culture for some Italians means safeguarding their national identity. Moreover, the awareness of the rapid spreading of the Islam within the country has led to the renewal of unsolved matters such as the relation between religion and the state (Pace, 1998). The stabilization in Italy of a population whose religion was different from the majority of the Italian population, who was accustomed to pray many times per day, and who fasted were all factors that started to be perceived as an obstacle for the laicisation of state. Last but not least, the lower birth-rates among Italians in comparison with migrant populations is perceived as a factor of further threat to the national identity, as Davide said:

‘With mass migration and the low birth rate among Italians the risk is that in the future the Italian identity will disappear. This will become a country of foreigners and we will be guests in our country’.

The threat from Islam and otherness produced ‘reactive identities’, to borrow an expression used by Stefano Allievi (2002): as a reaction to the presence within the national territory of Muslim immigrants, Italian national identity seems to have become stronger and even more rooted in Christianity than in the past. At the same time, the increasing number of immigrants has activated a redefinition of Italian national identity, which is not based on the sense of territorial belonging of Italian citizens to the nation, as it used to be since the creation of the Italian State in 1861 (Triandafyllidou, 1999). Now, the idea of national identity is rather based on shared traditions, culture and values linked to the Italian territory that excludes those of different ethnicities, cultures or religions in a dichotomous distinction us/Italians and them/immigrants. The need to create a shared sense of nationhood at the time of Italian unification that could go beyond the internal diversity, regionalism and local dialects and that justified the famous quotation by Massimo d’Azeglio “Fatta l’Italia, dobbiamo fare gli Italiani” or “We have made Italy, now we must make the Italians” is still present. However, today in Italy the ‘new Italians’ are represented by individuals of different ethnic backgrounds, cultures and religions.

### **6.3 Moroccans’ views about Italians**

The last thematic area extracted from the texts of the interviewees depicts Moroccans’ views about Italians. Moroccans’ expectations of Italy and the reality they confronted following migration influence their attitudes toward Italians as well as their identification with the host community. As might be expected, successful migrants tend to hold more positive views about the host country than migrants whose expectations were not met. Expectations can evolve over successive waves of immigrations. For example, Moroccans who arrived in Turin in the first wave (during the 1980s) did not have a precise idea about the

country where they were going to move. They were just looking for a place where they could improve their living conditions. In this respect Karim said:

‘The geographical closeness of Italy with France made me thinking that the two countries were not very different. Since it was not possible to go to France, I decided to come to Italy. In those years that was the trend. If Moroccans wanted to emigrate, Italy was their destination country’.

On the contrary Moroccans who arrived in Italy with successive migration flows viewed Italy as a country where it was easy to get to and to make money even without a residence permit. This expectation about the country was generally raised by the successful experience of Moroccan immigrants who periodically returned to their country of origin and who, by narrating their story, encouraged their co-nationals to move. According to some Moroccan interviewees, return migrants tend to paint a rosy picture of their situation to those who have remained home, omitting in their description the most negative and miserable aspects of their life in Italy. This illusive communication may cause huge disappointments among new immigrants when they arrive in Italy and face a reality different from what they expected. Negative migration experience can lead immigrants to hang on in the destination country even if it means becoming an irregular immigrant by over-staying their original terms of entry. Returning as a failure, in fact, would mean going back to the prior living conditions, characterised by unemployment and lack of opportunities. Thus, Moroccans’ dreams and desires change continuously, depending on the circumstances and the possibilities. Accordingly, those Moroccans who left their own country with the intention of staying abroad only the time necessary to make money and return home ended up living permanently in Italy. The experience of Yussef, a Moroccan immigrant from Salè, exemplifies this situation:

‘My life in Salè was pretty good as I inherited from my father a photographer’s studio, the only one in the town that did good business. However, I didn’t see many future opportunities for my



children in Morocco. So I decided to move to Italy and stay just for two years. I wanted to save money and then go back to Morocco where I wanted to set up another shop for my children. The first years I spent in Turin were pretty hard since I couldn't find a stable job. After three years I asked my wife to join me and a year later my children came here as well. I still hope to return to Morocco one day, but my children disagree. They feel Italy is their country now.'

The hope of returning to Morocco did not push Yussef to seek a full integration in Italy. He admitted that he hardly tried to establish close relationships with the local community, while on the contrary he tended to maintain contacts with members of his own ethnic group. The reason for this behaviour rather than been ascribed to the fear of difference can be explained with the interviewee's interest in maintaining ties with his own country in function of his future perspective to return to his own country.

The factors that push Moroccans to migrate also influence their attitudes toward Italians. For example, Moroccans who came to Italy to enjoy new experiences or to study tend to seek more interactions with Italians and perceive their separation from Morocco in a less dramatic way than Moroccans who left their country for economic reasons and with the intention to live only temporarily in Italy. In the latter case, Moroccans tend to establish very few contacts with the local community, while on the contrary they keep strong ties with their country of origin or their co-nationals in Turin, as in the case above. The initial difficulty of adapting to a country whose traditions, religion and customs were different from their own was overcome gradually. In some circumstances, the presence of the family was important for the acculturation process, as illustrated in this passage of the interview with Karim:

'I started to get more interested in knowing the country where I was living when my family joined me. Till then I thought I was going to stay in Turin temporarily, so instead of interacting with Italian people, reading Italian newspapers or watching Italian TV, I kept being informed about what was happening in my country. Since my

family came to Turin things have changed. My children had to go to school so I needed to understand how the school system worked and I had to improve my Italian. I had to be a reference point for them because I didn't want my children to feel excluded or isolated. But in order to do that I could not be isolated myself.'

This passage clearly demonstrates that changes in the original migration plan are strictly connected with the decision of reunifying the family. In some cases this decision was based on a conscious choice to settle in Italy. In other cases, Moroccans opted for family reunification because the separation from their family created more and more problems, including those connected with the difficulty of bearing the costs of two households. In any case, the reunification of families contributes significantly to enhancing integration. Family life, in fact, contributes to the stimulation of socio-cultural stability and, consequently, to the integration of immigrants. Moreover, the presence of children requires, among other things, a higher knowledge and openness toward the mainstream culture to avoid possible intergenerational conflicts. All second generation Moroccans that I interviewed arrived in Italy before the age of 11 through family reunification. They were all schooled and socialised in Italian society and have many views very close to native born Italians. Italian schools and mass media, in fact, espouse majority culture values and thus promote them to the children of immigrants. Fatima in this respect said:

'Italy is the country where I have spent the fundamental years for forming of my personality. I have been socialised here. Even if I was born in Morocco and I have a Moroccan family I identify with Italians, with their ways of thinking and behaving. When people look at me they can easily see I'm not Italian from my face traits but also from the veil that I always wear. But I feel I have more things in common with Italians than with Moroccans'.

Divergent values between parent and children can lead to intergenerational incongruence especially if children progressively acculturate to host country

values while their parents continue to embrace their own culture. Even when the acculturation process is accompanied by the maintenance of their ethnic culture, immigrants' children may be viewed 'as not ethnic enough according to their parental standard'. Mohammed for example said that 'for our parents we are too Italian but for the Italian society we are always too Moroccan or too Muslim'. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) conceptualised the acculturation gaps between immigrant parents and their children in a typology of 'generational consonance versus dissonance'. Generational consonance occurs when the level of acculturation is similar for parents and children within the family. On the contrary, generational dissonance occurs when children neither correspond to levels of parental acculturation nor conform to parental guidance, leading to parent-child conflict. With this respect Malika commented that:

'I think parents should try to understand their children more. They have to realize that we are not in Morocco any more and that even the reality they have left has changed. The idea they have about Morocco does not exist any more, not even in Morocco'.

Another second generation Moroccan believed that:

'The coexistence of the two cultures is not incompatible, but I can understand that for my parents it's more challenging because they are afraid that adopting the Italian culture will imply pulling away, rejecting their heritage culture. It must be sad for them knowing that their children belong to 'a world' they can never access with equal tools. But they have to realise that children are like trees: we branch out in this society where we live and where we belong to...without forgetting our roots' (Rachid).

A higher openness toward the host population does not prevent Moroccans from keeping ties with members of their ethnic groups. Contacts with members of the Moroccan community represent, in fact, an important requisite for effective integration, at least, during the first phase of the migration experience.

Mutual aid networks can provide support and answers to problems faced by immigrants upon their arrival in the host country. The maintenance of social contacts with their own group, however, appears to be very important also in the following phases of their migration experience, while, on the contrary, contacts with host community tend to be limited. Youssef for example said:

‘It is very difficult to establish contacts with Italians. I work with many Italians but our relationships do not go beyond work relations. I met the few Italians I know in casual circumstances and only many years after my arrival in Turin. At the beginning I used to hang around only with Moroccans’.

Second generation Moroccans as well rely on maintaining personal contacts within and deriving social support from their own ethnic group. Contacts with Italian peers are limited to the school context, whereas during leisure time Moroccans prefer to frequent friends of the same ethnic group. Rachid for example said:

‘I feel more at ease with Moroccans than with Italians. We can share our experiences and talk about our traditions without the fear of being judged or being derided as it may happen with Italians’.

These differences between the time spent within and outside the school context have also been identified in previous studies about second generations in Italy (Queirolo Palmas, 2006; Valtolina-Marazzi, 2006). At school, students from different ethnic background sit together, talk and work together, without any pattern of ethnic group formation. These interethnic relations, however, do not continue outside the school context where, instead, friendship relations are mainly structured along ethnic lines (Valtolina-Marazzi, 2006). The main explanation for this pattern of ethnic segregation focussed on language and culture. Friends of the same ethnic background were believed to understand each other better and to feel more at home with each other.

Similarly, many Moroccan interviewees are not in favour of interethnic marriages with Italians. On the contrary, they would prefer for themselves or for their children an “Italianised” Moroccan. This would allow them or their children to have a partner who is familiar with the family’s native language and who is well accustomed to the appropriate routines of family life and relationship. In this respect Turaya said:

‘I wouldn’t like my daughter to marry an Italian man. Not because I don’t trust them but from the experience of some friends of mine I see mixed marriages quite complicated to handle. My friend one day during the Ramadan was invited by the husband’s family. She did not join them for lunch because she was fasting. The family understood that but I think it’s easier if all your family members are from your own community. You can share every aspect of life without complications’.

The notion that individuals prefer or have more contacts with people of the same ethnic group is embedded into academic concepts such as ‘bonding’ social capital (ties to people who are like us in some important way) and ‘bridging’ social capital (ties to people who are unlike us in some important way), advanced by Putnam (Putnam 2000, 2007). These two concepts are not inversely correlated, thus having lots of bonding ties does not mean having few bridging ties, and vice versa. However, while bonding social capital reinforces the relationship with members of the same ethnic group, bridging social capital fosters interethnic tolerance by overcoming the initial hesitation and mistrust through interethnic contacts. The development of interaction between members of different ethnic groups, in fact, allows people to see other group members for what they actually are rather than for what misconception and stereotypes may suggest (Cantle, 2005). This attitudinal change targets not only the host population but also the immigrant group as the contribution of Aisha, a Moroccan interviewee, who has many Italian friends, clearly shows:

‘I think that for many Moroccans the knowledge of Italian culture is limited to immigration law or to those bureaucratic aspects that are relevant to solve their immediate problems, e.g., how to get the residence permit and/or how to get family allowances. You can learn these things by going to the statutory agencies, where this type of information is advertised. But if you want to know the traditions, the habits, the culture of a country you may want to meet, speak and have a daily exchange with the local population ... I love Italy, I feel accepted, and I have never felt discriminated against. Of course, I cannot do here whatever I want without respecting other people or the norms. If you move to a different country and you do not respect the norms and try instead to impose your own rules it is normal that you will not be accepted. But if Moroccans bear the misery of leaving their own country to move to another one it is only because their life in Morocco would be worse. So, if they decide to stay here they should try to adapt to this country, nobody is forcing them to stay here.’

There are many associations in Turin created expressly to foster interethnic contacts and to promote immigrants’ access to services and structures in order to facilitate their process of integration. Asai<sup>11</sup> and Alouan<sup>12</sup>, two associations whose activities are directed mainly at second generations as well as to Italian youths, represent a significant opportunity outside the school context for these adolescents to meet together and exchange their views and experiences. During my frequent visits to these and other intercultural centres I noticed a strong tendency, especially among Moroccans, to cluster together and use their own language to communicate with each other, even if they were familiar with Italian. If the use of their own language during the recreational activities is a way for Moroccans to reinforce their ethnic identity, it definitely excludes Italians and other groups from interacting with them. To prevent these situations, educators intervene, whenever they believe it is appropriate, to stimulate conversations and interactions also with peers of other ethnic groups.

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<sup>11</sup> Associazione di animazione interculturale (Association for intercultural animation)

<sup>12</sup> Colours (in Arabic language)

Beside the activities organized by these youth intercultural centres there are many initiatives addressed to immigrant adults: seminars to inform immigrants about the existing services offered to them, meetings with Italian families, debates about parent-child relationships. A successful initiative has been organized by the *Primo Levi* public library, which is addressed to women from Maghreb, who arrived in Italy through family reunification. The project entitled '*Torino: la mia città. Percorsi di formazione per donne maghrebine*' (Turin my town: training courses for women from Maghreb) includes several activities, such as Italian language courses, visits to significant sites of the town, convivial meetings to celebrate Christian or Islamic festivities, and meetings with doctors and schoolteachers as well as with experts in law and immigration. In 2007, 90 women, who were for the most part from Morocco, joined the project; 23 of them had just arrived in Turin through family reunification, while 20 had been living in Turin for more than 7 years already. This project successfully fought against the risk of isolation of Moroccan women, who cannot rely on an established female social network and who are often close off a number of possibilities, such as finding a job and following a process of partial independence from their husbands.

'The intense participation of Moroccan women in these courses reminds me of activism that there is now in Morocco', said Netza, a Moroccan cultural mediator that participated in the organization of the project. 'There are more than 500 non-governmental organizations run by Moroccan women in Morocco and the approval of the new Family Code, as a replacement of the *Moudawana*, significantly changed the way of conceiving the role of women within the family and the marriage. It is humiliating that Moroccan women abroad stay at home without interacting with the rest of the society, while in Morocco there is a great women's activism. Moroccan women should open themselves and let Italians know who they really are. I appreciate the efforts made in Turin by the associations that foster women's integration and I am happy with the fact that many women attend the courses regularly'.

The support of migrant women is a central issue also for the association ALMA MATER. Created in 1990 by a group of Turinese feminists, *Alma Mater* is an intercultural centre for women that fights gender and racial discrimination and the socio-economic disadvantages of migrant women. The leading idea of the centre is to overthrow the stereotype of immigrants as people in need and to promote immigrants' participation and co-operation in a range of fields through cross-cultural exchange and the revalorisation of migrant women's skills and abilities. Beside the intercultural associations and the voluntary organizations, immigrants' ethnic associations have played a relevant role in the process of immigrant incorporation. They represented a reference point and an important source of information for many immigrants and their families not only during the initial phase of the migration experience, but also when they were already settled and their main concern was to hand down to their children their cultural values and traditions. The fear of losing the heritage culture and traditions over generations is quite widespread among those Moroccans that have been living in Italy for many years. The comment of a Moroccan mother, Turaya, who regularly attends the Arab *Dar Al Hikma*<sup>13</sup> association with her children, illustrates this sentiment:

‘We want to keep and to hand down to our children our traditions and our language. There are many Moroccan children who were born in Italy and who do not even know the language of their parents. This is becoming a problem, especially when they go back to Morocco during the summer and they are not able to communicate with their grandparents and the rest of the family.’

Although Moroccans have for long represented the largest ethnic minority in Turin, its community is quite fragmented and little represented in the associations, with *Dar Al Hikma* being the only widely known and consolidated one. In this respect, Karim, one of the Moroccan interviewees, said:

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<sup>13</sup> The English translation of the association's name is “The house of wisdom”.



‘In Turin there are many Moroccan associations that close down shortly after they have been set up, while there are others that are created to promote the interests of single persons rather than to fulfil the needs of the entire community, thus causing a harmful effect on the community itself. In fact, Italian institutions sometimes need to interact with serious and representative subjects, but they often deal with persons or with a group of people that represent only themselves. The immediate consequence was the proclamation of some imams as official spokesman of the community. Indeed, in the absence of valid associations, the mosque represents the only place where people can gather, share their experiences and exchange information. The mosque and Porta Palazzo<sup>14</sup> are the main gathering centres, but Turin is not only Porta Palazzo and the mosque. There are many centres and services offered to immigrants that are not used enough. In most cases Moroccans turn to the social services only for bureaucratic problems. And also in this case most of the information circulates among members of the community through word of mouth. Moroccans are little aware of the services offered by Italian institutions and organizations. This is partly due to the limited information they have and partly due to the lack of interest of a part of the Moroccan population in frequenting the existing centres.’

There exist a high variety of sources of information available to Moroccans, which range from statutory agencies to associations managed by the majority population. Yet, the discourse of the Moroccan interviewee confirms that informal information provided by community members are still privileged by newly arrived Moroccans, as well as by those who are already settled. Such channels are comprised of a number of sites, including the mosque, shops in Porta Palazzo, but also translating agencies owned by Moroccan immigrants and Moroccan bars and restaurants concentrated in the area around the Consulate. These places act also as meeting areas, thus responding to Moroccans’ socializing needs.

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<sup>14</sup> Porta Palazzo is an area in the neighbourhood of Borgo Dora that takes its name from the open market that dominates the biggest square in Borgo Dora.

### 6.3.1 Things that Moroccans do not like about Italy

During the interviews I asked Moroccans to talk about those aspects of Italian culture or the Italian way of life that they did not like. These discourses allowed me to understand whether among Moroccans there was a certain degree of ethnocentrism, or whether they were opened toward diversity. I was interested in understanding if the refusal of some aspects of the Italian culture could represent a limit for their full incorporation in the receiving society. Almost all Moroccans in their discourses expressed a degree of ethnocentrism, especially when they talked about family and friendship relations. Yussef for example said:

‘When I arrived in Turin I was shocked by the coldness of the people living here. They are very individualistic. In Morocco people are more open and there are much more contacts with other Moroccans especially at a neighbourhood level’.

Not only friendship relations but also family ties are considered stronger in Morocco than in Italy. With regard to this Karim said:

‘I like my heritage culture for the hospitality, the respect and the devotion for elder people. In my culture it’s unthinkable for old people not being assisted by his/her family members only because he/she became non self-sufficient. I’m proud of these values and I have passed them on to my children. On the other hand I also like western values, like the possibility for every person to be successful in life, freedom, the possibility of living in a liberal state’.

Opinions and feelings about Italy are sometimes contrasting. In fact, on the one hand Moroccans criticise the lack of strong family and social relations among Italians and by contrast proclaim the openness and the solidarity among Moroccans; on the other hand they believe that there is more freedom in Italy

and that people have more chances to achieve their ambitions than in Morocco where such possibilities are limited due to high corruption and disorder.

Interestingly, opinions about family solidarity and filial obligations expressed by Moroccans of the first generation are shared by second-generation young people as well. Fatima for example said:

‘I have a strong emotional bond with my family. I personally can’t understand the lack of solidarity among many Italian families. What I really don’t like about Italians is their attitudes toward elderly. For me, and I guess for all Moroccans, sending elderly to retirement homes is unthinkable. In Moroccan families old people stay at home with their family’.

The modernisation processes and in particular higher women’s participation in the labour market is believed to have decreased interdependency between parents and their children and, chiefly, children’s practical ability to take care of aging parents (e.g. Coleman, 1990). Recent research conducted in the Netherlands about intergenerational solidarity among immigrant families has found that immigrants have stronger preferences for filial obligation compared to Dutch natives and that this pattern did not change over generations. The negative relation between educational levels and preferences for filial obligations (more highly educated respondents showed lower preferences for filial obligations) allows to believe that as the education of immigrants rises their preferences will become more compatible with those of Dutch (Schans, 2007). It will be interesting to explore whether, with the consolidation of second generations in Italy, Moroccans’ attitudes toward family values such as filial obligations will change or whether these values remain a fundamental aspect of their culture they might not be willing to give up. From the discourses of Moroccan interviewees it emerged that filial obligations are a very positive source of self-identification. However, more research is needed to see whether this pattern will change or if it will remain the same over generations.

Moroccans criticised also other aspects about the Italian culture that they did not like. However, while their opinions were more concordant with respect to

family obligations, they had differing views concerning gender relations. Gender roles constitute an important factor in every individual's value system. Conventional gender roles, however, are challenged when individuals move to a new country. With the migration experience, in fact, many women enter the labour market for the first time, earning some degree of independence and power, which increase their feelings of autonomy and confidence. Such factors mean a change in the traditional female role, requiring new adjustments in the family. Cultural transitions to environments that are more egalitarian and less hierarchical may be more difficult for men who come from cultures with patriarchal family traditions than for women who generally experience more dissatisfaction with narrow gender roles. Moroccan women I interviewed claimed that gender relations among Moroccans are still characterised by non-egalitarian patterns, although with the new family code many things are changing also in the relationship between men and women. Moroccan men were generally more critical about the role of women in Western societies than Moroccan women, although opinions in favour of traditional gender relations were expressed only by Moroccans who were originally from rural areas in Morocco. Yussef for example believed that: *"Italian women have too much freedom. In the marital relationship they decide everything"*. More generally, Moroccan men admitted that due to economic necessity their wives had to find a job in Italy, and this inevitably led to new adjustments within the family. This, however, did not necessarily mean conflictual gender relations. Diverse opinions were instead expressed by second-generation women as well as by Moroccan women who left Morocco as single migrants. Malika, a second generation Moroccan, commented that Moroccan women are acquiring some freedom in the working environment but she believes that there are still many differences between men and women. For this reason, she said she would never marry a Moroccan man, but rather she would prefer a 'Italianised Moroccan'. Aisha, sets up her idea about Moroccan women, who are defined as submissive and holding less rights than men, against that of Italian women, whom she considers more emancipated and enterprising.

‘I believe that in a civilized society both men and women contribute to its development and progress. Unfortunately, this does not happen in Morocco, where some women are even denied the possibility of studying. In the big cities the situation is pretty much the same as it is in Italy, but in the villages, men and women are treated differently. I think men fear women’s emancipation, because they could lose their supremacy....In Turin there are many Moroccans who come from the villages. In most cases the wife stays at home and takes care of the family in complete isolation from the rest of the society, while the husband goes to work.’

For some Moroccan women the rejection of traditional roles attributed to women may represent a rationale for migration. This is the case of Salima, a Moroccan woman who left her country to become more independent and to get rid of oppressive patriarchal structures.

‘I wanted to go to France and continue my studies there. I am a biologist. Unfortunately, it was too expensive and my family could not afford that so I remained in Morocco for a few more years. I tried to find a job there but it wasn’t easy. With the approval of the new family code things are changing also with respect to the role of women within the society, but the process is very slow and the society is still too closed. I wanted to be independent and demonstrate that women like men have the right to work, to live alone if they don’t want to get married. I used to live in a little village and I felt the pressure of the social control over women. So in the end I decided to leave and I joined my brother who was already living in Turin. I now work in a translating agency with my brother’.

In most cases Moroccan women who left Morocco as single migrants already had relatives living in Italy. The presence of brothers or sisters made women’s migration more socially accepted since it allows to conceive women’s migration as a reunion with family members rather

than as an individual experience (Salih, 2003). This is especially true if women come, as in the case of Salima, from little villages where the social control over women is very strong.

### 6.3.2 Patterns of discrimination

The narratives of Moroccan interviewees have highlighted that interethnic contacts are very important not only in the first phase of the migration experience but also after many years since their arrival in Turin. To a certain degree, Moroccans' preference for in-group friendship is related to ethnic identification. Having close friends who are mostly from the same background may be linked to a greater identification with their ethnic group. On the other hand, the feeling of not being accepted and welcome by Italians can further prevent them from having close friendship with the host population. Overt episodes of intolerance or racism, however, did not occur to any of the Moroccans I interviewed. More commonly they complained about negative attitudes of bureaucrats with whom they have dealt for the renewal of the residence permit or for obtaining the Italian citizenship. Malika for example said:

‘I am not saying that they (the bureaucrats) are racist, but I can’t say that they seem very tolerant. They do not feel any sympathy for those persons that maybe have stayed an entire night in the queue waiting for their turn. They do not treat us with much consideration’.

According to the Italian law the residence permit has to be renewed at regular intervals and the renewal process is extremely cumbersome and uncertain. This means that permit-granting institutions with their intricate, long and humiliating procedures make their own contribution to discrimination. Mohammed told me his personal experience:

‘I grew up in Italy, but I don’t have Italian citizenship yet. This means that periodically I have to renew my residence permit. If I do

not pass the exams at the university with high grades I will not be able to renew my residence permit. It doesn't matter that I have been living here for sixteen years, I have studied here and my family is here. If I can't renew the residence permit I can be sent to the country where I was born although I do not consider it as my own country'.

The acquisition of Italian citizenship is the only way to escape the precariousness of living conditions because of the difficulties in renewing or obtaining a permanent residence permit. However, the slowness of the Italian bureaucracy, together with the long and expensive procedures, discourage many Moroccans, who could be eligible for naturalization, from applying for it. Being recognized by law an Italian citizen is also considered a condition that will lead to less discrimination in the social life. Nevertheless, the contribution of Fatima, a second generation Moroccan, who had recently acquired Italian citizenship, shows that episodes of discrimination may still persist also after the acquisition of the Italian citizenship:

'After many years last month I obtained the Italian citizenship. I don't think my life will become easy all of a sudden. I have a Moroccan name, I am Muslim and I wear the veil; these are traits that will always characterise me and that perhaps will still represent a factor of discrimination. If I go to a job interview the veil that I wear may influence the employer more than the fact that I obtained the Italian citizenship. At least now I feel free to travel around Europe and if I don't find a job adequate to my university studies I can go abroad'.

The problems connected with the bureaucratic condition are also mentioned in the discourses of two other Moroccan interviewees:

'I still remember the first day at school. I was enrolled in the first grade of the secondary school.... On the way to go to school my father recommended me three things that he thought could make me

a good student. First to say good morning when I entered the classroom. Second to be polite and always say thank you and third to avoid eating pork. I was surprised because in Morocco I did not even think about eating pork. But we were in Italy and with that advice my father actually meant: “don’t forget who you are and where you come from”. He left me there and since that moment I became the father of myself in the sense that I tried with my own strengths to overcome the initial difficulties mainly caused by the little knowledge I had about Italian. Apart from the problems during the first months in communicating with my classmates because of the language, the relationships with my peers were pretty good. I only felt different from them when, on the last year of the high school, my class organized a school trip abroad. I did not have the residence permit so I could not join them. That was the first time I had realized I was an immigrant.’

The issue of the legal condition of Moroccans is often mentioned in the discourses of my interviewees. Similarly, Malika, a Moroccan university student, mentioned that:

‘A few years ago I had to suspend my University scholarship due to a delay in the renewal of my residence permit. Without that document I could not take the exams but at the same time without a proof of employment and/or university attendance I was not eligible for the residence permit itself’.

The two interviews reported above emphasise the disconnection between the bureaucratic and education system in terms of ensuring full and swift integration of immigrant students. Although issues connected with bureaucracy are not directly related to the school system, they may discriminate against immigrant students and negatively affect their school success. The two passages above also indicate that bureaucratic slowness during the renewal of the residence permit, together with errors in interpreting the law, or questionable interpretations made



at the *questura* (provincial police headquarters) are forms of institutional discrimination that are caused partly by legislative choices, and partly by the police employees and the obstructive behaviours of some of them.

One significant additional problem that Moroccans face concerns the difficulties in the recognition of qualifications obtained in their country of origin. This non-recognition concerns not only educational certificates but also immigrants' work experience gained in their country. The reluctance to recognize qualifications is clearly frustrating and costly for the immigrant but also represents a waste for the host country that could use more effectively the skills and educational qualifications of newcomers for its economic production. Discrimination is also caused by unfavourable working conditions: immigrant workforce is usually preferred because it is more flexible and available for unqualified and low paid jobs that the host population does not want. This situation is exacerbated by the Bossi-Fini immigration law, because if an immigrant loses his/her job he/she then risks losing the residence permit. Thus, immigrants are more exposed to various types of abuses like precariousness, atypical contracts and illegal jobs. In general, from the interviews with Moroccans it emerged that initiating a work dispute depends on the migratory project of the person involved. If a worker intends to go back to their country of origin he tries the best solution to earn as much as possible and is prepared also to accept illegal jobs. On the contrary, those who want to stay in Italy need a legal permit and, especially if they want to reunify with the family, they cannot accept irregular jobs, as the experience of Yussef demonstrates:

‘When I arrived in Italy I worked for a few months as a street vendor and later I sold flowers at the open market without a regular contract. My intention was to stay only two years, save money and then return to Morocco. The money I earned was hardly enough to live on and to maintain my family in Morocco so I decided to stay longer and look for a more stable job. After three years my wife joined me and a year later my children came as well’.

Cases of discrimination in the labour market are also tied to the segmentation of the labour market and with the exclusion of immigrants from certain areas of employment. As table 6.1 shows Moroccans' representation in key professions (for example as lawyers, architects, doctors and engineers) as well as in skilled occupations is quite low.

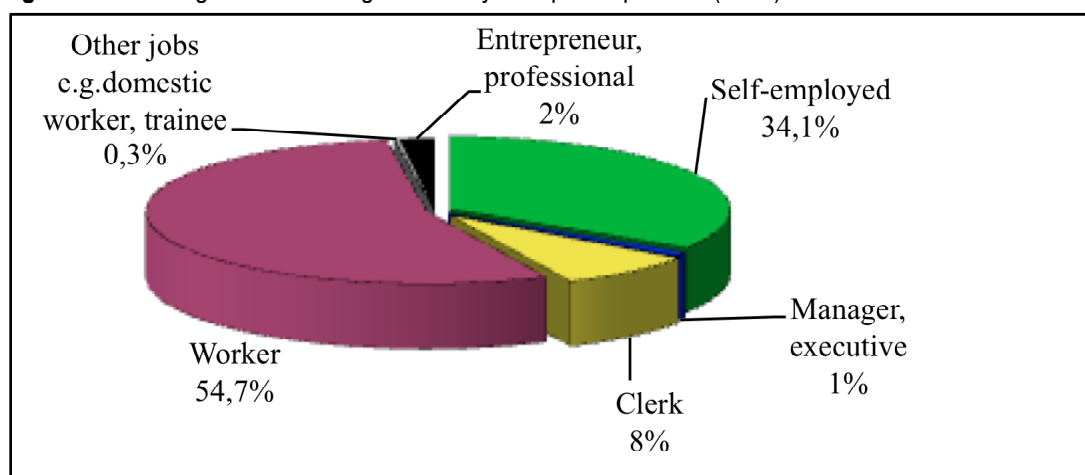
**Table 6.1** – Occupation of Moroccan immigrants in Turin, 2001-2006.

	<b>Working condition</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>Self-employment</b>	Entrepreneur, professional	23	28	30	34	33	39
	Self-employed	889	942	1,220	1,353	1,447	1,532
<b>Employment</b>	Manager, executive	2	3	3	5	4	3
	Clerk	134	168	196	223	239	264
	Worker	3,598	3,832	4,470	5,042	5,250	5,491
	Other (e.g., domestic sector, trainee)	6	11	15	16	17	26
	Disabled	1	1	1	2	2	3
<b>Other Socio-Economic Condition</b>	Religious man	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Housewife	1,235	1,377	1,524	1,698	1,893	2,102
	Student	405	454	506	582	688	609
	Unemployed	1,487	1,392	1,321	1,162	1,150	1,180
	Retired	32	38	38	40	46	51
	Not working age or unknown profession	2,220	2,548	2,894	3,295	3,604	703
	<b>Total</b>	<b>10,033</b>	<b>10,795</b>	<b>12,219</b>	<b>13,453</b>	<b>14,374</b>	<b>12,004</b>

Source: Osservatorio Interistituzionale sugli stranieri in Provincia di Torino, 2002-2007.

On the contrary, the percentage of self-employed has considerably increased from 2001 to 2006. This may be a sign of a relatively high integration, since setting up a business requires in-depth knowledge of the host country's norms and regulations. However, it may also be a response to the difficulties to access mainstream positions, which push Moroccans to set up their own activities.

As graph 6.1 shows this situation is not peculiar of the Moroccan community but it is common to all migrant groups living in Turin.

**Figure 6.1** – Foreign workers living in Turin by occupation position (2005).

Source: Osservatorio Interistituzionale sugli stranieri in Provincia di Torino, 2006.

The unequal treatment of immigrants in the Italian labour market, especially concerning the access to well paid and skilled positions, is also perceived by the majority of the Moroccan interviewees (58% of Moroccans who participated in the survey study), who declared feeling somewhat discriminated against in the labour market. In this respect Seddik, one of the Moroccan interviewees, stated that:

‘I came to Italy about fifteen years ago and I reckon that at that time episodes of intolerance hardly occurred. I have been working here for many years – I was lucky because I found a qualified job – without being discriminated against. However, I can see that things are now rapidly changing. It seems almost impossible that an immigrant from a developing country can be hired for a qualified job in Italy, even if he or she has the skills that are required for the position. So in the end migrant workers have to fill those jobs Italians do not want, regardless of their educational background or their competences. I hope things will be different for the second generations.’

Whilst evidence from the qualitative interviews suggests that first generation has accepted this situation, narratives from the second generation indicate that they are more determined in making their claims. Moreover, they are less willing than their parents to be isolated at the margins of the local economy and society,

especially if they are highly educated. Nevertheless, the difficulties in acquiring the Italian citizenship may represent an obstacle for their social mobility, as not being Italian citizens excludes them from the possibility of applying for certain jobs. To avoid the spreading of discriminatory feelings among second generation youths in 2007 the municipality of Turin has launched a project titled '*If not now, when?*', which offered the opportunity to 20 second generation young people, who had not acquired the Italian citizenship yet, to work for a year at the local council. The vast majority of participants were from Morocco but there were also second-generation young people from Cameroon, Peru, Mauritius, and Eastern Europe. Malika a Moroccan young people commented her participation in the initiative in the following way:

'Last year my application for the national competition of the community service was rejected because I was not an Italian citizen. I am happy that this year the municipality of Turin has created a special program for the second generations. I think it is a good opportunity to expand our networks and to gain insider knowledge of Turin's local administrations. However, I am afraid that at the end of this working experience if I do not get the Italian citizenship I will not be able to find a good job.'

The difficulty of finding a job that responds to their expectation is pointed out also by another Moroccan student, who said:

'Immigrant students represent for the Italian state a cost but not an investment. The Italian state is willing to spend money to guarantee everybody the right to study and I appreciate that. But if the only job opportunities for us are working in the domestic sector or in the factory and we don't have a chance to find a job consistent with our studies we are forced to move to another country or to waste the knowledge that we have acquired in many years of study (Malika).

The difficulties second generation youths face in the access to qualified jobs are often due to the structure of the labour market, in which the offer of qualified labour exceeds the demand and in which the networks play a crucial role in the search of jobs (Coin, 2004). Although most of them have the qualification and professional training required by the labour market, in many cases they lack an established network. Moving to a different country is a strategy that is starting to be considered by many Moroccan youths, especially if they are highly educated, if they have acquired Italian citizenship and, consequently, they are free to travel.

The discrimination faced by many Moroccans in the labour market together with various forms of institutional discrimination affects their attitudes toward and identification with the host country. In response to this situation many Moroccans try to get support from members of their own community isolating themselves from the rest of the society. Other Moroccans, instead, reacted to this situation by for example converting their cultural difference into an opportunity. Aisha for example, with the help of the association Alma Mater, could create a small theatre company of Italian and Moroccan children; Turaya works as a cultural mediator in the gynaecology unit of the hospital providing an indispensable support to Moroccan women who do not speak Italian; Mohammed made use of his degree in Islamic studies and his good communication skills (he has been invited many times to talk on Italian TV programs) to get involved in politics. They do not represent isolated cases; however, by talking to Italians, who work as volunteers in many cultural and religious centres, I have realised that there is still a notable number of Moroccans, especially women and unaccompanied Moroccans, who are isolated from the host population and whose risks of segregation are very high. Most activities and initiatives organized by statutory agencies, cultural and religious associations target these sections of the Moroccan population.

## **6.4 Conclusions**

In this chapter results of the analyses of qualitative data have been presented and discussed. Such data come from a small ethnography and in-depth interviews

with both Moroccans and Italians and served to explore in more details the findings that emerged from the quantitative study. The analyses of quantitative data showed that the support of cultural diversity by my respondents was associated to positive intergroup relations. In the case of Italians this means accepting the presence of individual coming from different cultural backgrounds, whereas in the case of Moroccans it means developing identification with Italy without giving up their ethnic identity. Accordingly, I analysed if in Turin immigrants are put in the condition to freely develop a dual identity. Feeling of being discriminated against can in fact induce immigrants to avoid any contacts with the receiving society, thus hampering the process of full incorporation and identification with the new society. For this purpose I explored Italians' views about Moroccans, how Italians feel toward newcomers in Turin, whether they accept or not the idea that Italy is opened to outsiders. To analyse these aspects I referred to the main theories of intergroup relations and attitudes in social psychology, namely social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1978), self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), contact hypothesis (Watson 1947; Williams, 1947), integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan and Stephan, 2000) and social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 1994). This chapter also focused on Moroccans' views about Italians and Italian culture (section 6.3). In particular I analysed how Moroccans' rationale for migration and the discrepancy between their expectations about Italy and the reality that they actually found when they arrived in Italy influence their attitudes toward the host community. In this section I further discussed the aspects that Moroccans do not like about the Italian culture and Italian way of life, whether Moroccans believe they are discriminated against and denied equal opportunities or on the contrary, they feel accepted and have developed a sense of attachment with the larger society.

Early studies about immigrant-Italian relations in Piedmont had shown markedly divided attitudes of Italians toward immigrants, with Italians being either absolutely in favour of new-arrivals or completely against them (e.g. Ires, 1992). In my study, it seems that such gap has been (partly) filled. The opinions of Italian interviewees varied from those who appreciate and value the presence of people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds to those who fear the increasing number of ethnically diverse immigrants and perceive them as a

threat, rather than an enrichment of their life. In general, positive opinions were held by Italians who had a direct experience of Moroccans, either because of their participation in intercultural associations or by habitually visiting Moroccan neighbours, or else because of close working relationships. On the contrary, those who had sporadic interactions with them tended to represent Moroccans with an 'us-them' distinction and with stereotypes usually attributed to that migrant community. The social identity theory considers the creation of group categories on the basis of presumed differences a natural tendency by which individuals relate to the social world. Thus, individuals place themselves in groups whose members are considered similar to themselves and separate from other groups whose members are seen as different. The bonds individuals put within or across groups are, however, not fixed but rather socially constructed. As I demonstrated above, intolerant attitudes of Northern Italians toward Southern Italians at the time of internal migration have eventually reduced, partly as a consequence of the presence of immigrants from non-EU countries that have been considered even more distinct than Southern Italians. One way of removing category distinctions is through close and sustained contacts, activating a process academically known as 'the personalization model' (Brewer and Miller, 1984). The closeness of individuals of different ethnic and cultural background, in fact, reduces the salience of group categorization and provides the opportunity to know people as individuals rather than as group members. The contact situation, if repeated and close, also produces more positive attitudes, as the answers of some Italian interviewees has demonstrated. Interethnic contacts, however, have to be close and sustained if they have to produce positive effects or otherwise they can increase the level of prejudice toward other groups and the fear of difference. The effect of superficial contacts is clearly visible among Italian residents living in areas densely populated by immigrants, like Porta Palazzo and San Salvario. Here, casual intergroup meetings tend to preserve negative stereotypes and negative attitudes toward out-group members with the consequence of generalising to the entire Moroccan population behaviours, usually criminal behaviours that are ascribable only to certain individuals.

In this chapter I also explored the factors that make Italians less open and less accepting of immigrants. Understanding the factors that are associated with

negative attitudes toward out-group members has important practical implications since it is crucial for preventing the negative consequences of intergroup conflicts and discrimination. The narratives that emerged from my research findings suggest that among Italians negative feelings toward Moroccans arise from a number of factors, all ascribable to a feeling of fear posed by the 'otherness'. Following the predictions of the integrated threat theory out-group members can be viewed as a threat to the physical or material well-being of the in-group members (realistic threat), to the values, beliefs and morals of the in-group (symbolic threat) or lead to intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. Among Italian respondents, in fact, hostile attitudes can be considered a defensive reaction of the Italian population against a perceived threat posed by the migrants group to the physical or material well being of the in-group or its members as well as to the norm established in the receiving society.

My findings also support the distinction between the various types of threat that play a role in causing prejudice. A central prediction of the ITT is that the forms of threat underlying discrimination and prejudice differ depending on the intergroup context (Stephan and Stephan, 1996). For example, in Northern Ireland Tausch and colleagues (2007) found that symbolic threat was a much better predictor of out-group attitudes than realistic threat, and the same was found in Sniderman and colleagues' study in the Netherlands (Sniderman et al., 2004). In my context, Moroccans, being predominantly of Muslim religion, are perceived as a threat to national identity and culture since their ways of life are supposed to collide and clash with Italian ways of life and culture. This type of threat is especially perceived by those Italian respondents who have a strong national identity and who considered Christianity a fundamental aspect of the Italian identity. At the same time Moroccans are seen as threatening Italians' wellbeing not so much for the competition they fear in the job market but in the access to social services and welfare. Unlike the former type of threat, realistic threat is especially perceived by Italian respondents who rely on the support of the Italian welfare and whose access to resources is seen as threatened by the competition with Moroccans for the access to the same resources. Reflecting this situation my findings showed that participants perceived both symbolic and



realistic threat. The use of qualitative methods, however, did not allow establishing whether in my context, Italian interviewees perceived significantly higher levels of symbolic threat or vice versa, thus additional studies are necessary to examine the role of the different forms of threat in the study of intergroup attitudes.

The predictions of the social dominance theory complement those of the ITT. Social dominance theory attempts to explain why society seems to be underpinned by a hierarchy of groups, ranging from dominant to subordinate (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). According to this theory, many myths, policies, and practices in society unfairly advantage dominant groups over subordinate groups. In Italy immigrants and Italians have equal access to resources. Yet, some Italian interviewees claimed Italians' privileged access to resources (e.g. qualified jobs) and social services (e.g. council housing and public kindergarten) with the aim to defend their dominant position in the society. This in-group favoritism and out-group derogation then is an intolerant but rational behavior of individuals who feel threatened by out-group members and who try to defend their privileged position in a society. Such results stress the attention on the fact that within my context of study there is a number of factors, mainly tied with the fear of otherness, that obstacle the full acceptance of immigrants. Therefore, although the valorization of culture diversity by the receiving population can result in positive intergroup relations, as evinced by the analysis of quantitative data, there are many factors that prevent Italians from supporting cultural diversity.

Negative feelings toward Moroccans contribute to increase among the immigrant community the perception of not being accepted and welcome by the native population. Such feelings inevitably hamper the process of integration and reinforce the identification of Moroccans with their ethnic group, especially among those Moroccan interviewees who remained anchored to the myth of return to Morocco. While first-generation Moroccans accept this situation passively, second generation Moroccans are more pugnacious. The requests they advance, like the acquisition of Italian citizenship if they were not born in Italy, the possibility of having formal mosques where they can go and pray, the possibility to compete for qualified jobs, the right to vote appear to them as rights that the Italian state should guarantee to them. This view is especially true for

those Moroccans who have arrived in Italy when they were very young, who have been socialised in Italy and consider themselves Italian. With the establishment of the second generation most of the problems existing in Italy, like unemployment, the housing problem, the lack of a clear national school reform that takes into consideration the increasing percentage of immigrant students cannot be ignored. Italy is a country that slowly reacts to social and cultural changes: it still does not recognize religious pluralism or that it is a multicultural country despite the increasing immigration. As a result, Italians as well as various governing coalitions have not yet reached a self-comprehension as a plural society (Allievi, 2010). Nevertheless it is important that, starting from the local level, the integration of the migrant population is more supported. Since the narratives that emerged from my research findings suggest that interviewees that support a multicultural ideology, that is a positive orientation toward living in a culturally plural society, also hold positive intergroup attitudes it is important that starting from the local level governments create the condition for the natural reinforcement of this ideology. Therefore, it is important to guarantee to individuals of different faiths the right to pray in a dignified place. Perhaps, in the case of Islam, the use of the Italian language during the sermons and the institution of a school for imams would be helpful to avert any suspicion that mosques are places that serve as basis for terror cells. It is also important to assert to foreign citizens who have been living in Italy for many years, who regularly work and pay taxes the right to vote, at least at a local level. Moreover, proceedings for the acquisition of the Italian citizenship should be simplified. As witnessed by some of the Moroccan interviewees there are many Moroccans who are entitled to get Italian citizenship, who are perfectly integrated but who still have not obtained it. Last but not least it is important to avoid exploitation of immigrant work and to intensify police controls and security especially in those areas or neighbourhoods where criminality is high. These should be considered isolated cases and should not dim the image of many immigrants who regularly live and honestly work in Turin. Guaranteeing of equal opportunities to immigrants and at the same time respect by immigrants of the Italian law are fundamental conditions for a peaceful coexistence between Italian and

immigrants. However there is still a long way to go for the actualisation of a multicultural state and for the full socio-cultural integration of immigrants.





## **Chapter 7**

### **Discussion and conclusions**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The demographic composition of many western societies is changing as a consequence of the large-scale influx and growth of ethnic minorities. Violence and conflicts, lack of opportunities, environmental degradation, poor living conditions in many countries and the increasing gaps between poor and rich areas of the world are all factors that can push individuals to move. In the receiving countries the growing presence of migrant communities has often been perceived as an inescapable burden, despite the important role played by immigrants for the economic development of receiving countries. Especially after September 11<sup>th</sup> many immigrants began to represent the scapegoat for all kinds of feelings of instability and insecurity. Such feelings have often been reinforced by the mass media, which promoted a negative and highly stereotyped image of immigrants (Faist, 2004). At the same time the fear that immigration could jeopardize common values and that it may bring in its wake more crime, the fears over employment and the domestic security began to have a high priority in the political agenda of many countries. It was not the intention of this thesis to discuss why countries should want immigration and whether or not they benefit from it. Instead, my question was how people from many and diverse cultural background can successfully and peacefully live together in culturally plural societies. In particular, this study centred on the mutual relations between Italians and Moroccan immigrants living in Turin (North-West Italy). By means of this case study, this research aimed to identify those conditions that contribute to

improve the quality of relations between the immigrant group and the host population in multiethnic societies. Many nations have been confronted with the need to find new strategies for incorporating ethnic minorities into the receiving societies without hampering social cohesion. The argument I made in this research was that the valorisation and support of cultural diversity together with the promotion of shared values would result in more harmonious intergroup relations. This means that, on the one hand, host nationals should be in favour of a multicultural ideology and, thus, tolerate, accept and respect cultural diversity and on the other hand that immigrant groups should be put in a condition to maintain their heritage culture and at the same time develop a sense of attachment to the larger society.

In order to answer my research question I referred to two different research traditions in social-psychology that have both been concerned with the field of immigration and, in particular, with the study of intergroup processes. The first (acculturation) has been relevant to examine the impact of culture and identity changes, which stem from first-hand interactions with culturally diverse individuals, on intergroup relations. Within this tradition I tested the validity of my assumption concerning the positive effect of the support of cultural diversity on intergroup relations by analysing the impact of the integration strategy of acculturation (a strategy that allows cultural diversity but that at the same time values contacts with the receiving society) and the concordance between Moroccans and Italians over this acculturation preference for intergroup relations. This strategy, in fact, allows reconciling the aspiration of minorities to preserve their ethnic, religious and linguistic differences, on one hand, with the demand for the incorporation of minorities into the mainstream society on the other. Cultural and identity aspects of immigrants' process of integration have rarely been investigated in Italian migration research, which has more commonly focused on socio-economic aspects of immigrants' integration, such as immigrants' education, their access to the labour market, housing and the health care system. Although the latter are preliminary and essential conditions for immigrants' adaptation in the new country of settlement they do not encompass the entire process of integration, and, most importantly, they are not sufficient conditions for the achievement of social cohesion. Studies conducted on ethnic

enclaves have demonstrated that the weak sense of identification with the host community in immigrants who live in economic enclaves represents an obstacle for the social cohesion in receiving countries. In fact, although economic enclaves and in-group exposure facilitate immigrants' economic integration, in the long term they slow the pace of immigrants' full integration and consequently of harmonious relationships with the local community by hampering the development of a sense of community with the host country (e.g. Wu et al., 2009). These findings support the main hypothesis of this research, which states that the valorisation of differences and, at the same time, the adaptation of immigrants to the culture of the host country and the development of a shared sense of nationhood with the host community could contribute to fuel positive intergroup relations.

The second theoretical approach that has been relevant to answer my research question refers to social psychology theories of intergroup relations and serves to examine respondents' attitudes toward out-group members and the factors that shape those attitudes. In support of my thesis I analysed whether Italian respondents who valued and respected cultural diversity also held positive attitudes toward Moroccans and whether Moroccans who feel discriminated against, denied equal opportunities and unwelcome are less open toward Italians and less willing to integrate in the new society than Moroccan interviewees who have not experienced discrimination in the new country.

As I discussed in chapter 2 these two research traditions can be studied with respect to immigrants and the receiving population and they both have been concerned with two issues that immigrants and the receiving population are faced with: the maintenance of cultural traits and values of the two groups, and contacts between the two groups. Acculturation, in fact, refers to the cultural changes that occur when two (or more) groups come into contact (Redfield et al., 1936). Although the contact experience has a greater effect for the migrant group and its members than for the receiving society, the decisions immigrants make about maintaining or discarding their own culture and identity and establishing or avoiding contacts with the receiving population is not independent from the orientation of the native population. The second research tradition (intergroup relations), instead, has dealt with concepts like prejudice, ethnic stereotyping,



intergroup competition and threat that have usually been applied to explain the attitudes of the native population toward immigrants. Like acculturation, also in this research tradition it is important to keep into consideration the mutual or reciprocal views regarding these issues. For too long these two theoretical approaches have evolved independently from one another in the study of immigrant-host national relations and only recently researchers have merged acculturation theories with intergroup research. In this study I also combined these two lines of research. However, unlike previous research, the originality of my approach has been to compare the views of both immigrants and the native population. Italian acculturation research as well as existing studies that combined acculturation with social psychology theories in the study of intergroup relations has generally focused either on the migrant group or on the host population, but none of them has taken a comparative perspective. Moreover, in this study the analysis of the effects of acculturation on intergroup relations built on the distinction between acculturation in the public and in the private domain and between the concepts of culture and identity. Existing acculturation studies have found differential acculturation preferences for the public and the private domain, especially on the immigrants' side (e.g. Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver, 2004). Yet, this principle of the domain specificity of acculturation model has been considered neither in Italian acculturation studies, nor in previous applications of the IAM, that is a model that compares the view of immigrants and host population over their acculturation preferences.

In this study I was interested in exploring not only how differently the two groups acculturate in the two domains, but also if the acculturation orientations of the two groups in the public and in the private domain have a different impact on intergroup relations. I did not expect any difference among Italians in their acculturation preferences, since previous studies have confirmed that acculturation is conceived by the host population as a homogeneous process, with no distinction among the various domains of life. On the contrary, I hypothesised that among Moroccans there were different preferences depending on the life domain, and specifically, that they were in favour of the integration orientation in the public domain and segregation in the private domain. In both groups I expected integration in the public domain to be associated with most

favourable intergroup relations, whereas I had no specific expectation concerning the impact of acculturation in the private domain on intergroup relations.

In this research I also made a distinction between culture and identity, two concepts that have often been used erroneously as synonymous in the existing literature, but that should be distinguished. Cultural identity was investigated using the same research framework that was applied to analyse the acculturation strategies. Thus, four types of identities were derived from the intersection between ethnic and national identity: integrated, segregated, assimilated, and marginalized identity. This distinction served to test my hypothesis that predicted a positive effect of the integrated identity on intergroup relations. The distinction between acculturation strategies in the public and in the private domains and between culture and identity was also used to explore whether acculturation orientations or identity patterns have a stronger impact on intergroup relations.

The hypotheses concerning the impact of acculturation on intergroup relations were tested with quantitative data. Results of this quantitative part of the study were then integrated with qualitative interviews with Moroccans and Italians, which aimed to explore the opinions of the two groups toward each other and the factors that shape those attitudes. In synthesis, this dissertation aimed to contribute to the existing global literature on intergroup relations in two main ways. Theoretically, by investigating the effect of cultural changes on intergroup relations introducing a distinction between the public and the private domains and between cultural heritage and cultural identity. The research also added existing knowledge to the Italian literature on migration, which is, in the field of social psychology, and especially concerning acculturation research, still poor. Methodologically, by refining existing knowledge through the use of a mixed-method approach that combined quantitative data with in-depth qualitative data. The use of qualitative data in the application of social psychology theories of intergroup relations is an original approach since such theories have always been tested with quantitative methods. This approach was motivated by the fact that social psychologists have often developed and tested theoretical paradigms referring to artificial groups such as the minimal group paradigm, which required experimental designs and consequently measures. The application of such theories to real groups requires detailed information that normally cannot be

obtained with survey data. This mixed approach allowed me to identify the type of acculturation strategy preferred by my respondents and its relevance for predicting intergroup relations, as well as to offer an additional perspective focusing on intergroup attitudes and the factors that shape these attitudes, information that is usually not captured in survey data only.

In the next section (7.2), the main findings of this thesis will be recapitulated. Section 7.3 follows with a discussion of the findings and a reflection on their societal implications. The chapter concludes with limitations and suggestions for future research (7.4).

## **7.2 Summary of the findings**

### **7.2.1 Acculturation attitudes**

The first issue of interest was an analysis of the distribution of Italian and Moroccan respondents across the four-acculturation orientations in the public and in the private domains and across the four identity patterns. Results indicated that both Moroccans and Italians preferred the integration orientation in the public and in the private domains and they both were in favour of the integrated identity. These results partly support existing findings that have shown a strong tendency of immigrants to favour integration, while a preference of host society members for integration or assimilation (Berry et al., 2006; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Previous studies have also demonstrated that these attitudes varied in the various domains of life, especially for migrant group members, who generally indicated more support for culture maintenance in the private domain and contact participation in the public domain. On the contrary, the host population tended to conceive acculturation as a more homogeneous process, without distinguishing between the two domains (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003; Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2003). In this respect my results diverge from existing findings since no distinction was found in the acculturation orientations between the public and the private domains both among the migrant group and the native population, highlighting that for Moroccans the acquisition

of Italian cultural traits is important not only in the public domain but also in the private domain.

From the Italians' perspective, integration is seen as a compromise in which they accept the fact that Moroccans maintain their ethnic identity as well as their heritage culture, but at the same time they expect Moroccans to develop a sense of attachment with the larger society and to adopt the cultural norms and customs shared by the receiving population. Similarly, from the migrant group's point of view the choice of the integration strategy expresses the desire to maintain their ethnic identity and culture, but at the same time the willingness to feel part of the host nation and to adapt to its culture. Obviously, Moroccans' preference for the integration strategy in the public domain has a different value than in the private domain. In fact, while in the former the acquisition of the norms and values of the host country is functional for their adaptation in the new society, in the latter it reflects their real intention of becoming part of the host nation. This is especially true considering the items used to assess acculturation in the private domain. One of them, in particular, explored Moroccans' agreement or disagreement with the possibility of rearing their children the Italian way. The agreement with this statement expresses the intention of a long-term migratory plan: only Moroccans who want to remain in Italy are concerned with rearing their children the Italian way. It also reflects the openness toward the receiving society and the desire that second generations will feel more similar to their Italian peers than the first generation.

Results also indicated that in the migrant group, the agreement with culture maintenance in the public and in the private domain was associated with ethnic identity, and, similarly, the adaptation to Italian culture in the public and in the private domain was positively related to the identification with the Italian community. These associations are consistent with the *alternation model* (LaFromboise et al., 1993), which posits that individuals can alter their behaviours to fit a particular social context or situation. Consequently, when Moroccans deal with their culture of origins both in the public and in the private domain (social contacts with co-ethnics, use of the Moroccan language, religion) they feel part of their ethnic group, whereas when they deal with the culture of the new society (social contacts with Italians, Italian language and Italians

traditional habits) the identification with Italy is stronger. In addition to this, the interviews with Moroccans indicated that successful migratory experiences normally reflected more positive views of the host community than situations in which Moroccans' expectations about their life in Italy were not met.

In relation to the acculturation strategies there is another issue that it is important to consider. Generally, the preference for one of the four acculturation strategies reflects the national policies and programs applied by the receiving country (Pfafferott and Brown, 2006). Thus, in those countries where policies oriented toward cultural homogeneity are applied, it is likely to see immigrants assimilating to the host society, or at least being pushed toward this direction by the host population. Similarly, the integration strategy can be considered an effect of national policies that value and support cultural diversity. However, in this case study it is difficult to establish the influence of the national policy on the acculturation orientations of my respondents since Italy lacks a defined national model of integration (Zincone et al., 2003). In fact, since the arrival of the first migration flows, the national government, responsible for the management of the phenomenon, dealt only with the regularization of illegal migrants and border control. The responsibility of welcoming and integrating new-arrivals was instead delegated to the local council (Caponio, 2006). The leading role of Municipalities concerning immigrant integration policies has been formally recognized with the promulgation of law 40/1998 and the Unified Text for Immigration. This law established, among other things, a national monetary fund, that in Turin has been used to support local projects, like courses for the teaching of Italian language, the promotion of immigrant communities' heritage cultures, training courses for immigrants and cultural mediators. Alongside this, many statutory agencies (e.g. immigration office of the province of Turin), intercultural associations (e.g. Alma Mater, Alouan, Asai) and religious centres have been set up to collaborate with the local administration in welcoming and assisting immigrants, and in promoting social cohesion and cultural pluralism. Over the years, local policies have been effective in supporting cultural diversity, but they have been less incisive in guaranteeing immigrants equal opportunities (see chapter 6). This situation was also confirmed by some of my Moroccan

interviewees who said that they felt discriminated against especially in the housing market and in access to qualified jobs.

From this perspective, it is hard to determine whether the acculturation preferences of my respondents, Moroccans in particular, reflect the local policies. In fact, the perception of being discriminated against would normally lead to other acculturation orientations, like, for instance, segregation (when individuals emphasize solidarity with and get support from members of the same ethnic group as a way of dealing with perceived discrimination); or assimilation, by, for instance, rejecting or downplaying their ethnic culture and group. This incongruence can be discussed in two ways. One angle would be to exclude any influence of the local policies on respondents' acculturation orientations. The other way is by looking at the measure used for acculturation. Acculturation strategies have been assessed by looking at respondents' attitudes (their preference) and not their behaviour (actual outcome). Of course, there is often a correspondence between what individuals prefer and seek (attitudes) and what they are able to do (behaviour). However, there is not always a one-to-one match between the two. Integration in the public and in the private domains, as well as an integrated identity is an expression of Moroccans' wishes, but it is possible that the perception of being discriminated against influences their actual behaviour. Little knowledge of Italian language, limited contacts with Italians, lack of interest in participating in intercultural associations, isolation by a part of the Moroccan population that emerged during the interviewees and that I observed in certain areas of the city and among a section of the Moroccan population, support this interpretation.

Similarly, among Italian respondents there might be incongruence between what they think and how they behave. For instance, the opposition of some Italians toward the building of new mosques, that emerged during the interviews, contradicts Italians' positive attitudes toward the maintenance and the practice of Moroccans' religion<sup>1</sup>, that resulted from the survey. Another example of discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour concerns the attitudes of Italians toward Moroccans' cultural identity. The analysis of quantitative data indicated that Italians expect Moroccans to develop an integrated identity. This means that

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<sup>1</sup> The agreement or disagreement of Italians toward Moroccans' maintenance and practice of their religion in Turin is one of the items used to measure acculturation in the private domain.

they want Moroccans to develop a sense of attachment with Italian society without giving up their ethnic identity. Such attitudes, however, contrast with ethnocentric views of some Italian interviewees, who still have the tendency to consider Moroccans as members of an out-group and to believe that their own ethnic group is centrally more important than the others.

This incongruence between attitudes and behaviour suggests that the use of a measurement based on acculturation behaviour rather than attitudes may be more reliable to examine the acculturation orientations of both migrant groups and host population.

### **7.2.2 Perceived acculturation strategies**

In this research I also analysed the perception respondents had about the acculturation strategy preferred by the respective out-group. Previous studies have suggested that the correspondence between the preferred acculturation strategy and the perception of the acculturation strategy favoured by out-group members is often poor (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Since the perception individuals have about the reality influences their behaviour, I considered it important to measure not only respondents' acculturation attitudes (preferred acculturation strategy) but also their perception of the out-group acculturation strategies (perceived acculturation strategy). This measure also served to assess the 'fit' between preferred and perceived acculturation strategy in order to identify the three scenarios (consensual, problematic and conflictual) predicted by the IAM and to test their effect on intergroup relations. My results revealed that in the public domain the correspondence between the preferred and perceived acculturation strategy in both groups is quite accurate with respect to the integration orientation, but less precise for the assimilation or the marginalization strategies. The overestimation by Moroccans of Italians' marginalizing attitudes may be an indication that a part of the Moroccan population in Turin does not feel accepted by the local population, while at the same time they feel their cultural distinctiveness is not supported enough by the host population. The perceptions of the out-group acculturation preferences in the private domain are less precise than in the public domain, especially for

Italians, who overestimated the support for separationist attitudes among Moroccans. Similarly, Moroccans overestimated the percentage of Italians who expect them to assimilate in the private domain.

A more precise correspondence between the preferred and perceived acculturation strategies in the public than in the private domain can be explained with the contact hypothesis theory. This theory posits that, under certain conditions, contacts between different groups can improve the acquaintance of out-group members and reduce prejudice. On the base of this theory, it is likely that a good understanding of the acculturation orientation favoured by out-group members in the public domain is due to the higher interactions and contacts members of the two groups have with the respective out-group in this domain compared to the private domain.

### **7.2.3 Acculturation strategies and outcomes**

A second key area of interest of this research was to analyse the influence of the acculturation strategies in the public and in the private domains and the four types of identity on intergroup relations. My hypothesis was that in both groups integration in the public domain was related to more favourable intergroup relations than the other acculturation strategies. I had no expectations concerning the impact of acculturation attitudes in the private domain on intergroup relations. Additionally, in the Moroccan sample I expected to find a positive effect of the integrated identity on intergroup relations, while a research question was proposed concerning the impact of identity patterns on intergroup relations among Italian respondents. Intergroup relations were measured with two indicators: perceived quality of intergroup relation and tolerance. An additional measure was used only for the Italian sample, namely attitudes toward Moroccans.

Results supported only partially my hypotheses concerning the effect of acculturation strategies on intergroup relations. In the Moroccan sample acculturation attitudes in the public domain were associated with tolerance and, as predicted, the integration orientation was associated with more tolerance than the other acculturation orientations. No effect was found between acculturation



in the public domain and perceived quality of intergroup relations. Thus, when testing the association between acculturation in the public domain and intergroup relations in the Moroccan sample tolerance was a more precise measure for intergroup relations than perceived quality on intergroup relations. In the private domain acculturation orientations were also positively associated with intergroup relations, even though the Helmert contrast revealed that integration was associated with more favourable intergroup relations only for the item 'perceived quality of intergroup relations'. Thus, Moroccans respondents who were in favour of integration in the private domain perceived their relationship with Italians more positively than Moroccans in favour of other acculturation strategies. The preference of the vast majority of Moroccan respondents for the integration strategy in the private domain was already an indication of the importance attributed by them to the acquisition of Italian cultural characteristics in this domain. This result provides further evidence that Moroccans' acquisition of Italian cultural traits in the private sphere produces more harmonious intergroup relations.

In the Italian sample, the comparison between acculturation in the public and in the private domains yielded different results. In fact, Italians' level of tolerance and their attitudes toward Moroccans are only influenced by Italians' acculturation preferences in the private domain, with segregation being the strategy associated with best outcomes. Acculturation in the public domain was not significantly related to intergroup relations. The lack of statistical significance does not mean that there is no difference in the level of tolerance among Italians across the various acculturation orientations (previous tests, where only acculturation in the public domain was considered, showed significant results). Rather, Italians' expectations concerning Moroccan cultural changes in the private domain are more significant in determining intergroup relations than their expectations regarding the changes in the public domain. Although the majority of Italians were in favour of the integration strategy in the private domain, the most tolerant and positive attitudes are held by those Italians who conceive acculturation in the private domain something that pertains to Moroccans' private life where Italians should not interfere (the segregation strategy of acculturation was associated with most favourable intergroup

relations). These results support the integration formula proposed by Jenkins (1967) for immigrant and the next generations that sees a high degree of immigrant acculturation in the public sphere but with distinctive beliefs, values, practices and religions in the private. Immigrants are “here but different”. However, it has to be noted that “egalitarian multiculturalism” (Rex, 1996), that is, – toleration of difference in the private within a common public sphere of shared norms and values, coupled with measures to ensure assimilation into employment, housing, education and health/welfare systems (or markets) on equal terms with the autochthonous population – is a far from realistic situation in Italy. Cultural differences are accepted but not always tolerated and similarly, equal access to resources and services are guaranteed but not always achieved.

In this thesis I have also analysed the impact of the types of identity on intergroup relations. In line with my hypothesis, the dual identity was associated with the most favourable intergroup relations both among Moroccans and Italians. Thus, respondents who thought Moroccans should develop a sense of attachment with the Italian community and at the same time keep their identification with the Moroccan ethnic group were more tolerant and, in the case of Italians, perceived their relationship with Moroccans more positively and had more positive attitudes toward Moroccans. I then compared the effect of types of identities on intergroup relations with that of acculturation strategies in the public and in the private domain. Such a comparison aimed to show whether identity factors or cultural factors have a stronger impact on intergroup relations. Results were quite similar among Moroccans and Italians and showed that overall identity patterns had a stronger impact on intergroup relations than acculturation attitudes. Thus, Moroccans with a high degree of ethnic identity and, at the same time, with a high sense of belonging to Italian society (integrated or dual identity) indicated more positive intergroup relations, in terms of more tolerance toward Italians, than Moroccans with different identity patterns. Similarly, Italians who agreed that Moroccans should maintain their sense of identity with their ethnic group and contemporarily develop a sense of nationhood with the Italian society were more tolerant, had more positive attitudes toward Moroccans, and perceived their relationship with Moroccans more positively than Italians in favour of other types of Moroccans’ identification. These results

indicate that acculturation has an impact on intergroup relations but it concerns mainly those changes that are not essential or functional for individuals' adaptation in the new society. Learning Italian or having contacts with Italians are motivated by functional needs, like for instance the job search or housing, or the access to services, that do not necessarily imply positive attitudes toward Italians. On the contrary, the desire to develop an integrated identity reflects the real will of Moroccans to open themselves toward the new society. Taking these results together, it would be wise, for the achievement of more harmonious and peaceful intergroup relations, to promote the development of an integrative ideology. This would be especially useful for the creation of a sense of attachment by the migrant group with the receiving community without giving up their ethnic identification and heritage culture. These findings support the positions of those theorists, who are against recent revitalizations of assimilation advanced by critics of the multicultural approach, and who believe that multiculturalism and specifically the support for cultural difference is not necessarily bad if it well balanced by the development of a shared sense of nationhood with the receiving society (Modood, 2005). Indeed, if immigrants participate in common political institutions there should be no problem if they retain their different cultural identities. Similarly, provided that they abide by the law, pay the taxes and work within accepted political structures, the adherence to religious beliefs or ethnic identities should not be considered as a threat to the state and should not bring accusations of disloyalty. The real challenge that societies have to face is to understand at what point the differences become destructive and the degree of homogeneity and shared experienced that is required for the satisfactory functioning of the state and for the establishment of positive intergroup relations.

#### **7.2.4 'Relative fit' and intergroup relations**

In the acculturation literature, studies are increasingly combining the acculturation preferences of the migrant groups with those of the receiving population according to their likelihood of provoking societal conflict. The theoretical model within which such comparison is framed is the IAM proposed

by Bourhis et al. (1997). In synthesis, this model posits that the combination of the acculturation orientations of the immigrant group with those of the host population yields three different scenarios: consensual, problematic and conflictual. Following the method used by Zagefka and Brown (2002) in their research, I applied the IAM by combining the preferred acculturation strategy of my respondents with their subjective perception of the strategy favoured by the respective out-group members. Depending on the combination between the two I obtained a consensual, problematic or conflictual outcome. This three-level factor was then used as a predictor for intergroup relations. Results indicated that the concept of compatibility or discrepancy between preferred and perceived acculturation strategies is predictable of intergroup relations mainly for the public domain. In fact, in most of the tests, especially in the Italian sample, IAM in the private domain was not significant.

Following Zagefka and Brown's procedure, in this study I considered a second definition of fit, which is based on the discrepancy or concordance between the preferred and perceived acculturation strategies of my respondents. According to this definition of 'relative fit' it was hypothesised that bigger discrepancies on the dimensions of culture maintenance/ethnic identity and culture adaptation/national identity would be related to more conflictual intergroup relations. Results indicated that discrepancies between Moroccans' preferred and perceived acculturation attitudes were predictive of intergroup relations only in the public domain. Discrepancies in acculturation attitudes in the private domain or between the ethnic and national identity dimensions had no impact on intergroup relations. Higher compatibility between the preferred and the perceived acculturation strategy in the public than in the private domain can be explained with the contact hypothesis theory. In the public domain members of the two groups have more contacts with each other and, thus, the expectations of the out-group's acculturation attitudes are more predictable than in the private domain, where co-ethnic interactions are less common. Conversely, among Italians only discrepancy in the ethnic identity dimensions were associated with intergroup relations. Thus, higher differences between their expectations toward Moroccans' ethnic identity and their opinions about Moroccans' actual ethnic identity were associated with most negative intergroup outcomes. Given the

strong impact of identity patterns on intergroup relations, these findings additionally suggest that Italians and Moroccans should agree in their acculturation orientations especially concerning this aspect of the acculturation process.

It is important to note that the preference for one of the four acculturation strategies or identity patterns is not fixed but can be changed. Researchers proposed various ways to change acculturation attitudes. Pettigrew (1997), for example, focused on the effect of intergroup contacts for improving personal acquaintance; Zick et al. (2001) pointed out the importance of reducing discrimination in order to improve acculturation success. All these changes should be oriented to favour an integrated ideology, in order to create the condition for the actual development of the integrated identity.

### **7.3 Cultural diversity and intergroup attitudes**

Quantitative results were complemented by findings of in-depth interviews, which aimed to explore in details the attitudes of Italians and Moroccans toward the respective out-group and the factors that shaped those attitudes. Such an understanding is crucial for preventing the negative consequences of intergroup conflicts and discrimination. Italian negative attitudes toward Moroccans, in fact, may not only hinder the establishment of peaceful relationships with the immigrant group; they can also reinforce among Moroccans the perception of being discriminated against and unwelcome and consequently they can hamper Moroccan identification with the host community. Immigrants that do not feel accepted will hardly develop a sense of attachment with the host community and will instead reinforce their identification with their ethnic group.

The analysis of Italian attitudes toward Moroccan suggested that, although the support and valorisation of cultural diversity can positively affect the quality of intergroup relations, as the quantitative data demonstrated, there are important factors that may make people less open and accepting of 'otherness' and thus hinder the establishment of positive intergroup relations. Notably, the perception that immigrants, and specifically Moroccans, represent a threat for the well-being of Italians and for Italian cultural values, constitutes a crucial factor for the

development of Italian negative attitudes toward Moroccans as well as for the rejection of Italy as a multicultural country. Such feelings exist especially among those Italian interviewees who belong to more disadvantaged strata of the population and who consequently have to rely on the support of the welfare system. The limited availability of resources, such as council housing, public kindergartens, social benefits, which are insufficient to satisfy the needs of everybody, leads individuals to compete over them, activating a mechanism of in-group biased attitudes. In this competition individuals tend to favour members of their own group at the expense of other group members in order to safeguard their privileged position. Such 'protectionism' is an unfair but a rational behaviour: sharing out opportunities between a larger number on an equal basis will reduce the advantages and the opportunities available, especially in a situation of limited resources. Therefore, claiming more right than new arrivals, as it emerged from the narratives of some Italian interviewees, is only an attempt to retain more opportunities for themselves. This situation has definitely negative repercussions for the relations between immigrants and the native population determining a so-called 'war between the poor'.

Feelings of threat, however, are also associated with the fear that Italy will not be as unique as it is filled with people from many diverse and distant cultures. Results from the survey indicated that Italian negative attitudes toward Moroccans are associated with a strong national identity. Indeed those Italians who manifested in their discourses intolerance also rejected the idea of Italy as a multicultural country since they believed that diversity might represent a threat for Italian national identity and for its cultural values and traditions. Generally this people do not have direct interactions with out-group members and base their opinions about immigrants by referring to myths and stereotypes associated with the various ethnic groups. In the specific case of Moroccans the opinions of some Italian interviewees are fuelled by the image that is portrayed by the media, which often present them as individuals who can threaten national identity, culture and security and whose values are at odds with those of Western secularised societies.

Nevertheless, as some of my interviewees have demonstrated, sustained and close contacts can reduce hostility and the fear of difference and improve the

quality of intergroup relations. Interactions among individuals of different ethnic and cultural background, in fact, reduces the salience of group categorization and provides the opportunity to know people as individuals rather than as group members. Interethnic contacts, however, have to be close and sustained if they have to produce positive effects or otherwise they can increase the level of prejudice toward other groups and the fear of difference. The effect of superficial contacts is clearly visible among Italian residents living in areas densely populated by immigrants, like Porta Palazzo and San Salvario. Here, casual intergroup meetings tend to preserve negative stereotypes and negative attitudes toward out-group members with the consequence of generalising to the entire Moroccan population behaviours, usually criminal behaviours that are ascribable only to certain individuals.

Negative attitudes toward Moroccans contribute to increase among the immigrant community feelings of not being accepted and welcome by the native population. Such feelings, together with the perception of not having equal opportunities as the native population, reinforce the identification of Moroccans with their ethnic group, especially among those Moroccan interviewees who remained anchored to the myth of return to Morocco. The labour market and housing are domains where Moroccans feel the discrimination against them is more evident.

Italy's constitution guarantees equal treatment for all citizens, Italians and foreigners alike in the field of employment. However, whether this is proven in practice is under scrutiny since certain labour sectors with a heavy immigrant workforce often endure inadequate working conditions. The situation of Moroccan immigrants in the labour market is characterised by the concentration in those sectors of the local economy characterised by low paid and unqualified jobs that are abandoned by the native population (Campani, 2007), while their representation in qualified and skilled positions is still low. Their subordinate positions are not necessarily always tied to discrimination or abuse and exploitation by the employers. Many Moroccans often lack the level of education required for more qualified jobs or, especially for the second generations, they lack an established network.

The social and economic disadvantage of Moroccans is definitely reflected in housing patterns with an increasing tendency to residential segregation. The concentration of Moroccans in certain districts of the city is not only motivated by the possibility of getting support from co-nationals, but also by the availability of affordable flats. Very often, Moroccans face widespread discrimination from private landlords, who charge immigrants high rents for unacceptable accommodation, or even, oppose renting their flats to immigrants. This situation leaves them with few choices that often mean living in deteriorating and overcrowding conditions in the most decayed buildings of the town. Alternatively, immigrants can rely on voluntary organisations and council housing. The former constitute mainly catholic organizations, which offer a shelter to immigrants especially during the first phase of the migratory experience. However, even if they represent an important avenue of 'immigrant intake' they do not provide any long-term solution for immigrants. With reference to council housing there is an increasing demand by immigrants, but only a limited possibility of access. The main difficulty is represented by the short supply of council housing in Italy that is among the smallest in Europe and that can be traced back to the time of internal migration in the 1950s and 1960s. The housing problem has never been solved, chiefly because Italy lacks a national law that governs immigrants' integration in the housing market, while much is delegated to the local governments. Undoubtedly, immigrants' integration policies represent an awkward issue for politicians, especially concerning those areas where the competition with the local population is particularly high. In fact, the promotion of policies in support of immigrants' need might draw the opposition of a part of their electorate. For this reason policy makers have often initiated policies aimed at reassuring the local population, whose vote determines the possibility of being re-elected. However, these policies have not always safeguarded immigrants' interests. In this perspective, the extension of voting rights to immigrants, so far largely debated but not yet achieved, could be a solution: immigrants could be politically represented and at the same time politicians could be free to experiment with new measures without the fear of loosing votes.



Moroccans' perception of being discriminated against and of being denied equal opportunities is not only limited to the labour and the housing market, but also to their religion. The recognition by the Italian Constitution of the right to all religions to be professed and to organize themselves according to their own by-laws is not always supported, especially in the case of Islam. Fuelled largely by immigration from North Africa and Albania, Islam is now the second largest faith in Turin. But, as its presence expands so does the possibility for conflict. Italians are not accustomed yet to the presence of a significant religion alongside Catholicism. Therefore, the spreading of Islam is perceived by many as a threat to Italian culture and identity and as an attempt by Muslims of controlling Europe through immigrants. For this reason Italians have generally opposed the building of formal mosques in Italy, forcing Muslims to pray in makeshift mosques in the basement of buildings or on a pavement outside garages. Similarly, religious needs of Moroccan workers, - like for instance, the observance of religious holidays and rituals, the possibility of serving Halal or Islamically permissible food, prayer breaks during the workday, leave for religious pilgrimages – are not always accommodated. In many cases employers have not obstructed these requests, but rather Italian workers, who consider the concession of such requests as a privilege granted to Muslim workers that discriminate against Italian workers. As many theorists of multiculturalism claim, the failure to offer special treatment to certain groups is in some circumstances itself a kind of unequal treatment (Barry, 2001). Thus, the argument that equal treatment is generated by a system of uniform law is invalid. On the contrary, equal treatment can be achieved by ensuring all citizens and immigrants equal purchasing power and fairness in the distribution of rights, resources and opportunities. To date, the major requirements of Muslim workers have been accommodated thanks to the support of trade unions that have been notably active in assisting with such negotiations. A national regulation is, however, needed to govern problems faced by Muslim workers at workplace.

## 7.4 Conclusion

Recently in many European countries of immigration there has been a widespread concern about immigrants and ethnic diversity. Populist politicians and some sections of the media have portrayed immigrants as a threat to security, social cohesion and the welfare system, and have blamed them for not having met their responsibility to integrate. As a consequence, the governments of many nations shifted from policies oriented toward the recognition of the right to cultural and religious differences toward measures that often seem like a return to old-style policies of assimilation. In the present research I wanted to question the effectiveness of this political approach adopted by nations like the Netherlands by demonstrating that the valorisation and support of culture and religious difference will not hamper social cohesion, but rather it can produce more harmonious intergroup relationships if it is balanced by immigrants' development of a sense of attachment with the larger society. Issues about how immigration countries should deal with cultural diversity have generally been addressed academically at an abstract level within philosophical reflections with the conviction that such reflections could provide philosophical solutions to the apparent problems of liberal multiculturalism (Modood et al., 2006, p.5). In this thesis I have empirically tested my assumption that the promotion of cultural pluralism in conjunction with immigrants' development of a sense of nationhood with the receiving society could contribute to fuel positive intergroup relations in two ways. Firstly, by exploring the impact of cultural and identity changes (acculturation), and more specifically of the integration strategy of acculturation (a strategy that values both culture maintenance and contacts with host society) on intergroup relations. Secondly, by exploring the attitudes of each group toward the respective out-group and the factors that shape those attitudes.

The analysis of the effect of acculturation on intergroup relations built on the distinction between acculturation in the public and in the private domain and between the concepts of culture and identity. Results indicated that both Italians and Moroccans clearly expressed their preference for the strategy of integration in the public and in the private domain, and for an integrated identity. In addition, findings revealed that identity patterns had the strongest impact on

intergroup relations. In general, the integrated identity was associated with most favourable intergroup relations in both groups, meaning that respondents who were in favour of Moroccans' maintenance of their ethnic identity and at the same time believed that Moroccans should develop a sense of belonging with host society had more positive relations with out-group members. These results offer an important answer to the question of how migrants can be incorporated into a society in a way that fosters social cohesion and avoids interethnic tensions. More specifically, these results suggest that integration strategies should not be equated with assimilation strategies - migrants are not passive objects of the predominant culture of the host society but are themselves social actors that contribute to reshape the society in which they live. Thus, developing positive intergroup relations requires as one of the elements the support of culture and ethnic differences on the side of the receiving population and the maintenance of ethnic identity on the part of the migrant group. As a second element migrant integration requires that immigrants become part of the mainstream society and develop a sense of attachment with the new country. Accordingly, a successful integration that strengthens social cohesion and that fosters positive intergroup relations entails providing a politically and socially supportive environment in which not only migrants feel welcome and have equal opportunities as the native population but also an environment in which ethnic and cultural differences are valorised and supported.

The analysis of qualitative data, which aimed to complement quantitative results, revealed that while Italian respondents value and encourage culture diversity, there are still processes of racialization within Italian society that might hinder the development of Moroccans' sense of attachment with the larger society. The high concentration of Moroccans in sectors of the local economy characterised by low qualified and low paid jobs, their under-representation in qualified positions, their poor housing conditions, the problems they face in regularizing their legal condition are, in part, the result of a specific type of discrimination against certain groups. Such situation delineates a reality characterised by a 'segmented pluralism' (Petrosino, 1990), that is, a reality where the recognition of culture and ethnic differences coexist with the persistence of structural inequalities. The risk associated with the consolidation

of this model is the reinforcement of ethnic divisions and the progressive isolation of ethnic communities. Immigrants that feel discriminated against, unwelcome or denied equal opportunities will hardly develop a sense of attachment with the host community and will instead find support among members of the same ethnic group. It has to be underlined that the spheres in which Moroccans do not believe that they have equal opportunities with the native populations are the areas in which the confrontation with the native population get stronger, mostly due to a condition of scarce resources that are not available for everybody. The 'competition' between Italians and the migrant population for access to council housing is a significant example. The worsening situation in the rental market and the lack of innovation by the institutions in meeting the demand of poor and marginalised people have led many immigrants to rely on the council housing. The imbalance between the demand and the supply of council housing has however created a situation of competition among the most disadvantaged strata of the population, immigrants and native population alike. Very often Italians claim a priority in the access to the council housing as well as to other social services. This so-called welfare chauvinism, which is responsible for much of the resentment of Italians against immigrants, can be considered the effect of a distinction between the in-group and the out-group and the consequent attempt of Italians to defend their privileged position as members of the dominant group. The idea that a state's social policies should work primarily to the benefit of one's own people from that of foreigners is contrary to the idea of equality between citizens. Intentional discrimination based on largely un-chosen factors, such as race, ethnicity or religion is unjust, and distributive inequalities resulting from such discrimination are unjust as well (Rawls, 1973; Scheffler, 2003; Young, 1990). Hence, host countries should feel responsible for migrant group members, or, otherwise, the exclusion of migrants from equal allocation of economic, political and social resources may risk jeopardising the very bases of democratic societies. One possible remedy to socioeconomic injustice in my context of study could be the extension to migrants of the right to vote. Such right could guarantee immigrants the possibility of being politically represented while at the same time it would not refrain politicians from the adoptions of measures in support of immigrants only

for the fear of losing votes. Moreover, the solution of the problems connected with housing and the widening of social services will eventually reduce discriminatory attitudes toward Moroccans of a part of those Italians who feel in competition with the migrant group for such limited resources. There is some evidence that local policies enforced since the 1990s in support of cultural pluralism and social cohesion have had some success. However there is still a lot of work to do. In particular, interethnic contacts should be improved in order to struggle against the fear of difference that still exists among some Italians towards the immigrant populations but also to bring down the mistrust of some sections of the Moroccan community toward the host population.

An additional remark about the present research concerns the ethnic group that has been chosen for the actualisation of this research. The focus on the Moroccan community for the analysis of Italian-immigrant relationship is motivated not only by the fact that they form one of the largest and the oldest immigrant communities in Turin. As the vast majority are Muslims, the focus on Moroccans enabled me to investigate how religious differences impact upon intergroup relations. Qualitative data have suggested that whilst ethnic and cultural pluralism is accepted and encouraged religious pluralism is still a challenging issue. Even though formally all religions in Italy have the right to be practiced, Islam is still not fully accepted. Accordingly, I believe that while immigrants in general can represent a threat for the well being of Italians (especially for those who live in more disadvantaged conditions) since they may reduce Italians' chances of getting access to limited resources (e.g. social services, council housing, qualified jobs), there are groups, like for instance Muslim groups, who are more culturally distinct from Italians and who can be a target for additional discriminatory attitudes because they are perceived as a threat also to Italian cultural and religious identity. It has to be noted that although Moroccans represent one of the oldest immigrant communities living in Turin there is still a proportion of Italians who have little knowledge of this community and who base its opinion about them recurring to stereotypes and clichés about that ethnic group that does not always correspond to the reality. For this reason I believe that if I had conducted the same study focusing on Romanians or Peruvians I would have found among Italians different attitudes.

Different results could have been attributed not only to the fact that they are culturally more similar, but also because their higher involvement in the domestic service sector allowed Italians to develop a deepened and personal knowledge about them. Once again, the idea that close and sustained interethnic contacts contribute to fuel positive intergroup relations is supported.

### **7.5 Limitations and suggestions for future research**

I would like to conclude with some reflections on the present research. To my mind this research is particularly valuable because of the sample used, which consisted of both host society and immigrant group and thus permitted the investigation of issues that until now have been largely neglected. However, I also acknowledge some limitations that future research should try to overcome. First, this study is based on a convenience sample, and so all results that have been obtained should be limited to the selected respondents without the possibility of making any generalization.

Second, in this study, following traditional acculturation research, I considered religion an aspect of individuals' culture that concerns their private sphere. This position is also taken by many theorists of multiculturalism, who claim that relegating religion to the private sphere is the only way to assure religious minorities the freedom to hold private beliefs and to practice their faith. The separation of the state and church and the neutralization of religion as a political force are also considered an essential step for the solution of religious conflicts. However, even if the state takes no official line on religion, the public-private divide remains problematic in pluralist religious societies. In fact, as illustrated by Parekh (2000) public holidays are based on the majority religion with no provision for religious minorities to fully celebrate their faith. Similarly, requests advanced by Muslims like, a formal mosque, breaks during the work day for the ritual prayers or Islamically permissible food, demand the institutionalisation of religious differences. These examples raise the question as to whether religion truly belongs to the private sphere, since in practice it seems to fall in the public realm. Given the important role that religion plays in individuals' lives as well as in societal divisions, it is advisable to consider it

when investigating intergroup relations. However, future research should avoid the rigid classification of religion in the private sphere, since at a practical level there is not a clear-cut distinction between the public and the private domains.

Second in this research the positive effect of the four identity categories as well as the impact of the acculturation strategies in the public and in the private domains on intergroup relations was tested considering only the main effect of the predictors on the dependent variables. The use of a larger sample would help to test the interaction effect of acculturation and identity on intergroup relations. It may be the case that the combination of identity patterns with acculturation strategies would produce different intergroup outcomes than the solely main effect of identity patterns or acculturation strategies on intergroup relations. Let us think about the case of a marginalised identity. Individuals who do not identify neither with their ethnic group nor with the host community are not necessarily excluded or isolated from the host society, but simply individuals who identify with a third nation or individuals who do not like to consider themselves as members of a group. This difference, however, can emerge only if identity patterns are analysed in conjunction with acculturation strategies. If a marginalised identity is accompanied by a marginalised acculturation strategy it is likely that an individual feels excluded both from his/her ethnic group and from the receiving society. Consequently, the impact of a marginalised identity on intergroup relations can have a different interpretation if its interaction with acculturation strategies are also analysed. Unfortunately, the dataset used for the present research did not allow analysing the interaction effect between identity patterns and acculturation strategies since a higher number of respondents was needed for such analysis.

Third, writers acknowledge that ethnic and national identities are dynamic concepts that change over time and context (Phinney, 1990). Immigrants generally arrive in the new country with favourable attitudes, large expectations of improving their lives and differing attitudes about retaining their identity and cultures and becoming part of the new society. With the experience in the new country, not necessarily positive, these attitudes become more realistic and consequently influence individual's identification. This research did not prove any differences over generation in the ethnic or national identifications as well as

in the acculturation orientations. However, further studies should consider how changes in immigrants' identification and acculturation over the life course impact immigrants' relationship with the local population.

Forth, in this research a discrepancy between individuals' acculturation attitudes and behaviour has emerged both among Moroccans and Italians. Thus, a future application of the Interactive acculturation model can operationalize the fit combination between immigrants and host nationals' acculturation strategies by looking at the discrepancy or concordance between individuals' acculturation attitudes and their behaviours. High discrepancy rate between what immigrants seek and what they actually do in the new context of life may be an indication of the difficulties faced by immigrant group in adapting to the new society, and consequently should be related to more strained intergroup relations. This alternative operationalization of 'fit' allows avoiding the concept of perceived acculturation strategies and their measurements, which posed a few difficulties for the migrant group members. Although the questionnaire was also available in the Arab language, for some respondents items that measured the perception of out-group acculturation orientations were difficult to understand.

Finally, my findings have shown that the integration strategy of acculturation and especially the integrated identity (the only strategy that values both cultural diversity and the support of common values) can positively affect the quality of intergroup relations. However, from the narratives with Italian interviewees it has emerged that there are factors that can make Italians less open and accepting of cultural diversity and consequently affect the quality of intergroup relations, namely symbolic and realistic threat. Thus, predictions of the integrated threat theory are essential factors in explaining Italian negative attitudes toward Moroccans. A central claim of this theory postulates that the role of different forms of threat depends on intergroup context and the type of out-group (Stephan and Stephan, 1996). In the public debate and also in my study, Islam and Muslims are typically presented and perceived as threatening national identity, culture and security (Velasco González et al., 2008). Since Italian interviewees in their discourses have shown a tendency to classify immigrants into "good" or "bad" immigrants on the basis of their higher or lower cultural distance from Italians, it would be interesting to test the ITT on various ethnic



group and check whether realist threat or symbolic threat has a different power in predicting negative attitudes and whether such differences vary across the different ethnic groups.

The current findings have underlined the importance of studying the impact of culture and identity changes on the relationship between different ethno-cultural groups. Given that acculturation orientations and identity patterns of the immigrant groups as well as of the receiving population are not fixed but they rather change over the course of individuals' life, politicians should intervene and address these changes in the direction that is congenial for the achievement of harmonious intergroup relations.

## **Appendix A: qualitative study**

### **Guideline questions for interview:**

#### **Moroccan interviews:**

- Demographic questions
- Can you tell me about your life in Morocco? Did you study? Were you working there?
- How did you spend your spare time?
- Why did you decide to come to Italy? Why Turin? Did you know somebody here?
- Can you tell me about your life in Italy when you arrived? How did you find a job and accommodation?
- Did Italian associations support you? Did Italians support you?
- Do you have any contacts with Italians? In which context?
- How would you define your relationship with Italians?
- Do you feel accepted?
- What do you like/do not like about Italian way of life?
- Do you read Italian newspapers? Do you watch Italian TV?
- How do you spend your spare time?
- Do you wish to go back to Morocco one day? What are your future plans?

**Italian interviews:**

- Demographic questions
- Can you describe your first years in Italy (for those who came from Southern Italy)?
- Do you find any similarities between your experience and that of immigrants who came to Italy?
- Do you have any relationship with Moroccans? How would you describe them?
- Do you feel safe in the city? Why? How would you improve the situation?
- Have you ever participate in any multicultural event?
- What do you think of living in a multicultural city?
- How do you see Turin in a few years?

## Appendix B: additional quantitative analyses

**Table 4.12** – Preferred and perceived acculturation strategies in the public domain after the median split (in %)

	Moroccans (N = 136)		Italians (N = 145)	
	Own preference N = 136	How they perceive Italians N = 134	Own preference N = 145	How they perceive Moroccans N = 145
Integration	40.4	59	34.5	46.2
Segregation	22.1	6.7	21.4	21.4
Assimilation	13.2	17.2	17.2	9.7
Marginalization	24.3	17.2	26.9	22.8

**Table 4.13** – Preferred and perceived acculturation strategies in the private domain after the median split (in %)

	Moroccans (N = 136)		Italians (N = 145)	
	Own preference N = 135	How they perceive Italians N = 134	Own preference N = 135	How they perceive Moroccans N = 145
Integration	38.5	39.6	43.7	52.4
Segregation	14.8	11.9	14.1	5.5
Assimilation	37	34.3	30.4	37.2
Marginalization	9.6	14.2	11.9	4.8

**Table 4.14** – Regression analyses of ‘discrepancy fit’ in the public and in the private domain on intergroup relations (Moroccan sample, N = 136)

DV	Positive perception of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>		Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2a	Model 2b
<b>Constant</b>				
Discrepancy culture maintenance public <sup>2</sup>		.055(.053)		.107(.096)
Discrepancy culture adaptation public <sup>2</sup>		<b>.271(.062)***</b>		<b>.241(.112)*</b>
Discrepancy culture maintenance private <sup>2</sup>		.097(.054)		.033(.097)
Discrepancy culture adaptation private <sup>2</sup>		-.090(.061)		.089(.110)
Age (years)	.012(.007)	.006(.006)	-.009(.012)	-.014(.011)
Male (0/1)	-.029(.124)	.031(.111)	.145(.204)	.161(.199)
Education (years)	.033(.013)*	.028(.012)*	-.016(.021)	-.019(.021)
Second generation (0/1)	.232(.163)	.158(.145)	-.418(.268)	-.473(.261)
<i>r-square</i>	.070	.305	.025	.120
<i>r-square change</i>	.070	.234	.025	.095
<i>F</i>	2.233	6.246***	.756	1.935
<i>F change</i>	2.233	9.608***	.756	3.062*
<i>d.f.</i>	4,118	8,114	4,118	8,114

Note: all coefficients are unstandardized \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

<sup>1</sup> Low values indicate more positive intergroup relations (positive perception of intergroup relations and tolerance). <sup>2</sup> Higher values indicate high absolute discrepancy

**Table 4.15** – Regression analyses of ‘discrepancy fit’ in the public and in the private domain on intergroup relations (Italian sample, N = 145)

DV	Positive perception of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>		Tolerance <sup>1</sup>		Positive attitude toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b
<b>Constant</b>						
Discrepancy culture maintenance public <sup>2</sup>		.038(.075)		.121(.126)		.140(.086)
Discrepancy culture adaptation public <sup>2</sup>		.123(.071)		<b>.265(.119)*</b>		<b>.214(.082)*</b>
Discrepancy culture maintenance private <sup>2</sup>		-.004(.079)		.189(.133)		<b>.247(.091)**</b>
Discrepancy culture adaptation private <sup>2</sup>		.073(.054)		.124(.090)		<b>.181(.061)**</b>
Age (years)	-.012(.004)**	-.009(.004)*	-.004(.006)	.003(.006)	-.006(.005)	.001(.004)
Male (0/1)	-.140(.114)	-.144(.116)	.005(.198)	-.049(.194)	-.087(.149)	-.130(.133)
Education (years)	.008(.014)	.011(.015)	.009(.025)	.025(.025)	-.054(.019)**	-.032(.017)
Italian National identity (1/5)	-.057(.070)	-.046(.070)	-.522(.122)***	-.478(.117)***	-.368(.092)***	-.312(.080)***
<i>r-square</i>	.089	.142	.123	.234	.189	.415
<i>r-square change</i>	.089	.053	.123	.112	.189	.227
<i>F</i>	3.367*	2.78**	4.823**	5.126***	8.016***	11.89***
<i>F change</i>	3.367*	2.086	4.823**	4.886**	8.016***	12.98***
<i>d.f.</i>	4,138	8,134	4,138	8,134	4,138	8,134

Note: all coefficients are unstandardized \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$  <sup>1</sup> Higher scores indicate negative outcomes <sup>2</sup> Higher values indicate high absolute discrepancy

**Table 5.10** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by patterns of identity for Moroccans (using identity variable created with the mid point split)

	Patterns of identity								<i>Df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Helmert Contrasts</i>
	Integrated		Segregated		Assimilated		Marginalized				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)			
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	2.45 (2.53)	.67 (.08)	2.69 (2.84)	.69 (.15)	2.43 (2.63)	.60 (.26)	2.11 (2.16)	.96 (.39)	3,120		<i>ns</i>
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	1.88 (1.84)	.80 (.12)	3.23 (3.18)	1.26 (.21)	1.78 (1.72)	.86 (.36)	3.83 (3.82)	1.04 (.54)	3,119	16.32***	I < S, M I > A

Note: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate more positive perception of intergroup relations and more tolerance.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis

**Table 5.11** – Means, Standard Deviations and ANCOVAs comparing intergroup relations by patterns of identity for Italians (using identity variable created with the mid point split)

	Patterns of identity								<i>Df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Helmert Contrasts</i>
	Integrated		Segregated		Assimilated		Marginalized				
	M <sup>2</sup>	SD (SE) <sup>2</sup>	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)	M	SD (SE)			
Perceived quality of intergroup relations <sup>1</sup>	3.13 (3.13)	.57 (.07)	3.38 (3.34)	.80 (.14)	3.12 (3.13)	.62 (.17)	4 (3.95)	.57 (.18)	3,123	5.74**	I < S, M I > A
Tolerance <sup>1</sup>	2.53 (2.57)	.88 (.11)	3.28 (3.24)	1.42 (.22)	2.78 (2.86)	1.1 (.26)	4.67 (4.63)	.44 (.28)	3,123	15.17***	I < A,S,M
Attitudes toward Moroccans <sup>1</sup>	2.41 (2.46)	.71 (.09)	3.06 (3)	1.09 (.17)	3.12 (3.07)	.87 (.20)	4.14 (4.04)	.38 (.22)	3,123	15.81***	I< A,S,M

Note: \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lower scores indicate more positive perception of intergroup relations, more tolerance and more positive attitudes toward Moroccans.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated marginal means and standard errors on parenthesis



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